PEARL HARBOR: 80 YEARS

Persia's Polymath
Meet Islam's Golden Age genius

ALL ABOUT HISTORY™

TRIAL BY COMBAT
Bloody history of judicial duels

TUDOR QUEENS
How Henry VIII's sisters forged their own legacy

DICKENS' LONDON

Inside the real-life crime and grime that inspired literature's greatest novels

WHAT IF DUNKIRK HAD FAILED?
Victory and destruction were in the balance

FUTURE
ISSUE 111

GREAT LORDS OF JAPAN
Brutal samurai warriors who ruled the East

AIRFIX

VINTAGE CLASSICS

INFANTRY 1:32 SCALE

WWII British Paratroops

Code: **A02701V**

In December 1940, the British 1st Airborne Division was created. Their distinctive mark was the maroon beret and a shoulder patch with Bellerophon astride the winged horse Pegasus.

WWII German Infantry

Code: **A02702V**

In the early stages of WWII the standard German infantry uniform consisted of a field jacket, trousers tucked into black leather jackboots, and the characteristically shaped helmet.

WWII U.S. Infantry

Code: **A02703V**

The US infantry regiment of World War II was a powerful, flexible infantry division. During the Battle of the Bulge in 1944/45 the infantry suffered high casualties, but managed to turn back the German army.

WWII U.S. Paratroops

Code: **A02711V**

The American airborne landings in Normandy were the first US combat operations of Operation Overlord. 13,100 paratroopers of the 82nd and 101st Airborne Divisions where dropped on D-Day

WWII German Paratroops

Code: **A02712V**

Paratroops were used decisively in the invasion of Norway and the Netherlands, reaching a peak in the conquering of Crete in 1941 where casualties were deemed to be unacceptably high.

WWII British Infantry

Code: **A02718V**

The British Infantry fought with courage and distinction in many theatres, but the freeing of occupied Europe was its biggest triumph.

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The Great Exhibition took place in 1851, a year after *David Copperfield* was published and shortly before *Bleak House*

Welcome

There are few literary figures as associated with this time of year as Charles Dickens, so it seemed only appropriate to close out the year looking at a piece of history through his eyes for our cover feature. Our look at mid-19th century London will hopefully give you a better understanding of the world in which Dickens worked and the kinds of people who inspired his most famous characters. It was a city of massive and rapid change, of great opportunity and wealth, and a city of great deprivation, crime and disease. It's fascinating to reflect on how different the English capital was in those years and how much of it has survived to this day.

We've reach out across the globe for our supporting stories this issue, such as to medieval Uzbekistan to learn about the polymath Ibn Sina, through the Middle East and out to China to explore the Silk Road, out to Japan for the origins of the warlords known as daimyo, to Hawaii to reflect on the attack on Pearl Harbor, across Europe to discover the history of judicial duels, and back to England to learn about the forgotten Tudor princesses Mary and Margaret. I hope it's a round trip you'll enjoy and one that might entice you to join us again (perhaps taking advantage of our special subscription offer on page 24). And if you're gift hunting we have a guide for that too that you may find helpful on page 62.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

ALL ABOUT HISTORY

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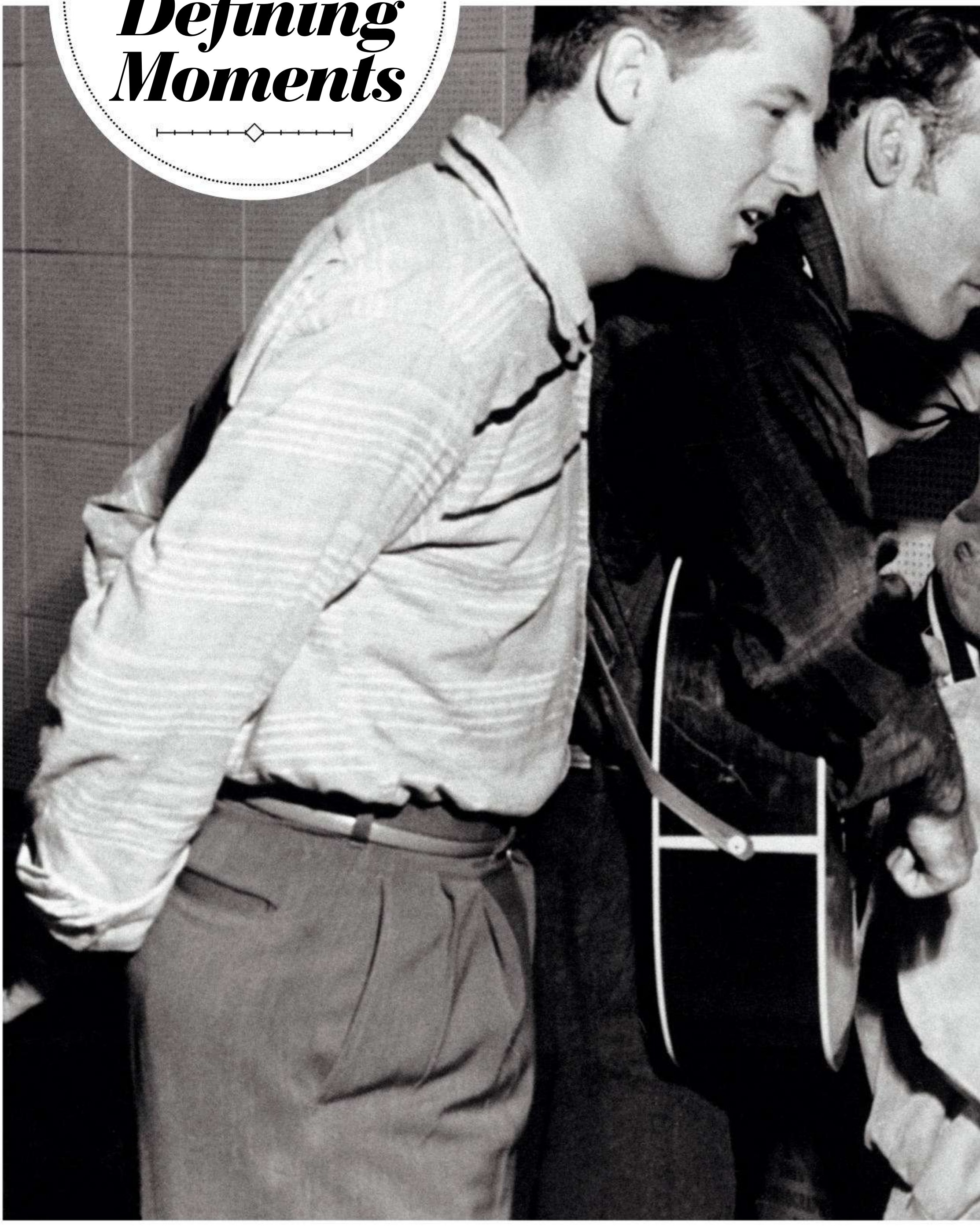
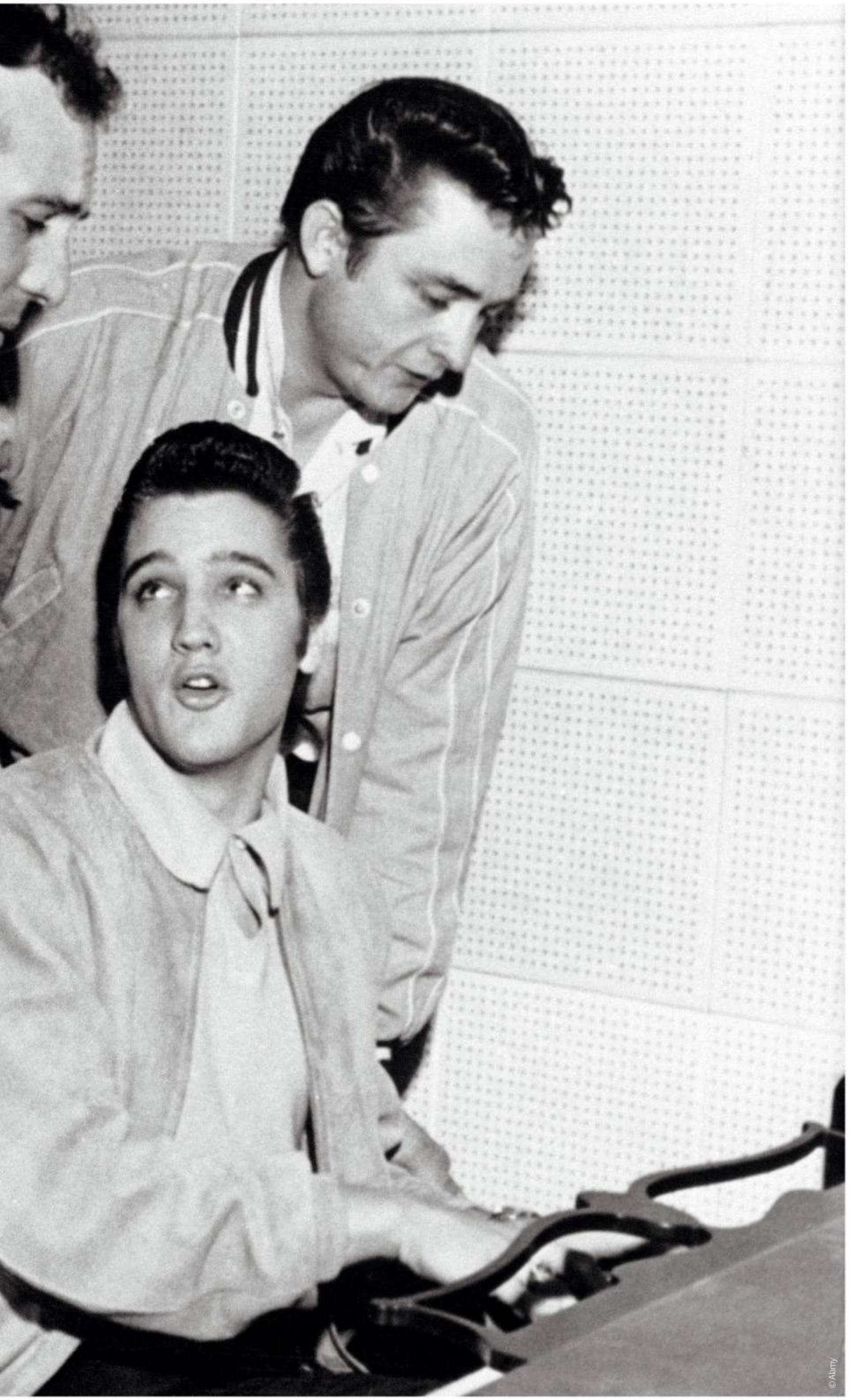
Dickens' London

Inside the real-life crime and grime that inspired literature's greatest novels

Defining Moments





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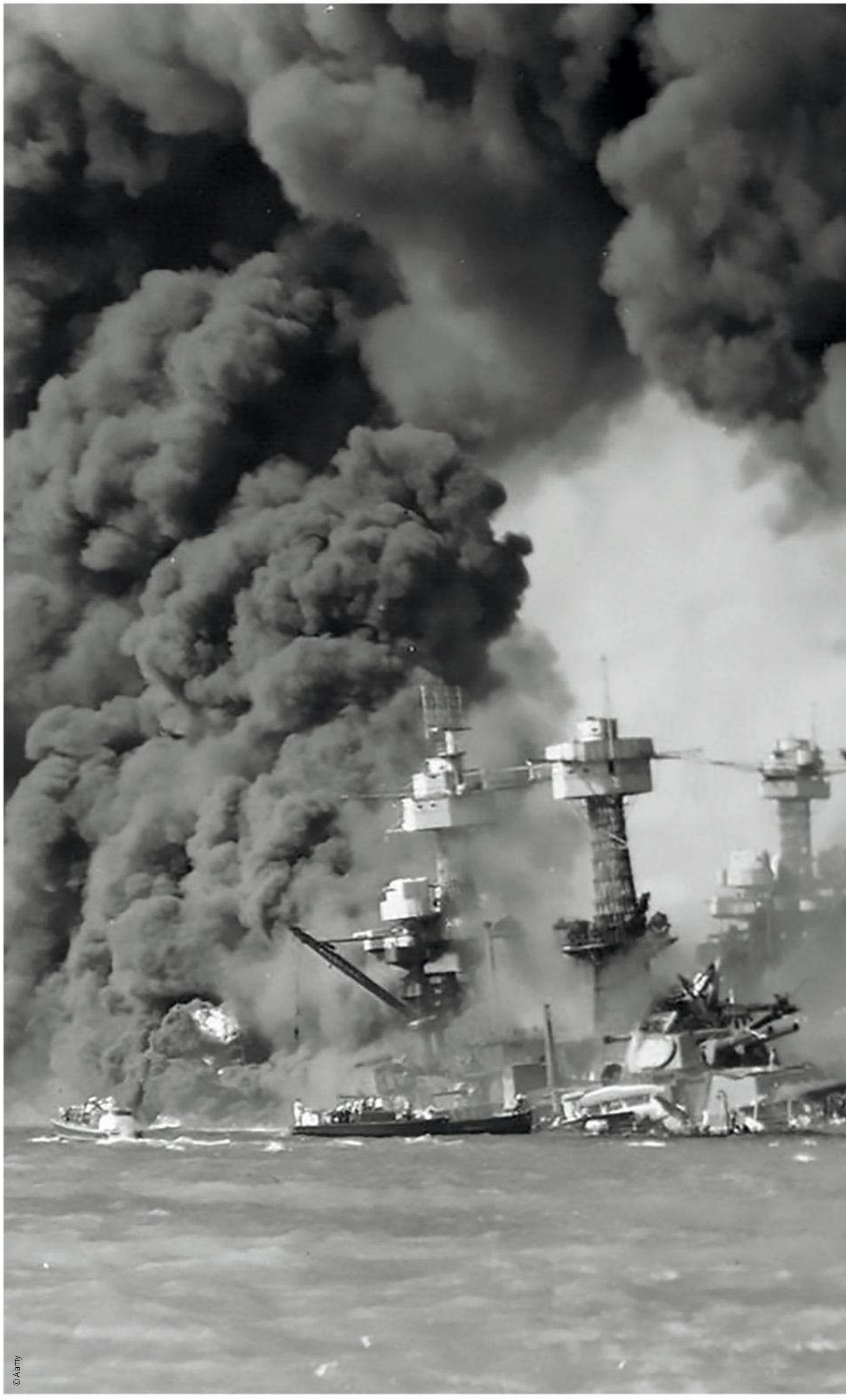
4 December 1956

THE MILLION-DOLLAR QUARTET

Elvis Presley, Jerry Lee Lewis, Carl Perkins and Johnny Cash gather at Sun Studio in Memphis, Tennessee, for a spur-of-the-moment recording session, performing a mix of songs including country and gospel music. This impromptu gathering was the first and last time these stars got together, and marked a unique moment in rock and roll history.



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7 December 1941

ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR

Japan launches a surprise aerial attack against the United States naval base at Pearl Harbor on the island of Oahu, Hawaii. The deadly assault inflicted significant damage on the US Pacific Fleet and over 2,300 Americans were killed. The next day, the United States officially entered WWII by declaring war on Japan.

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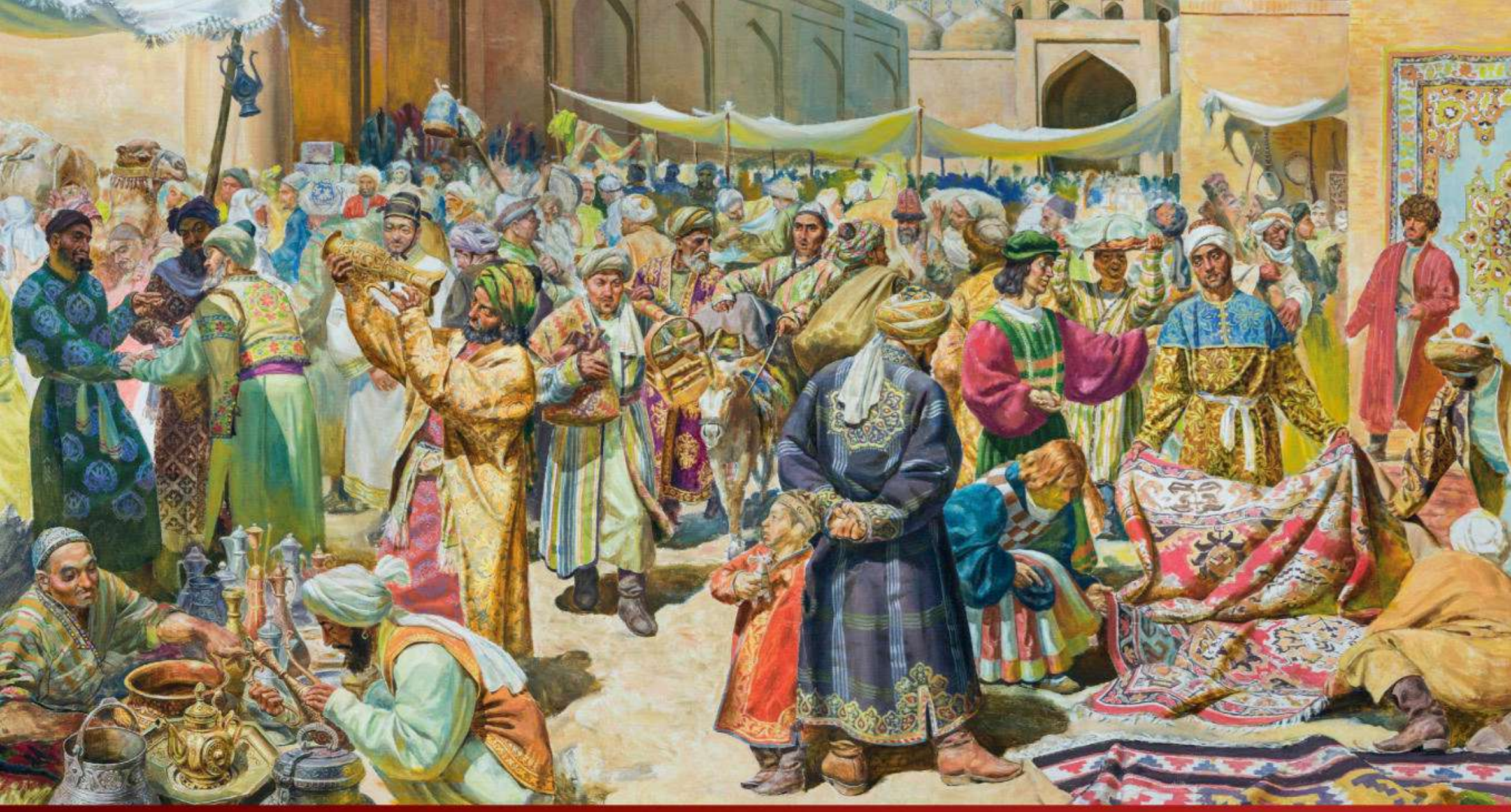
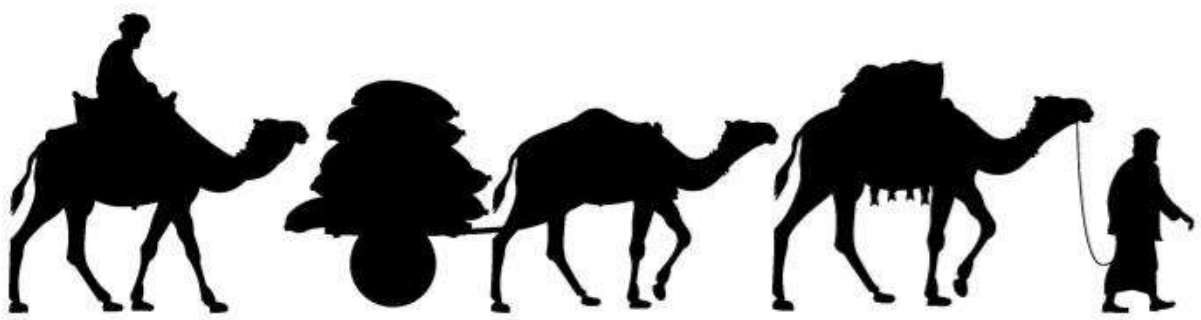


ALL ABOUT

THE SILK ROAD



Travel down this famous trading route to learn how it influenced culture and innovation in every civilisation it touched

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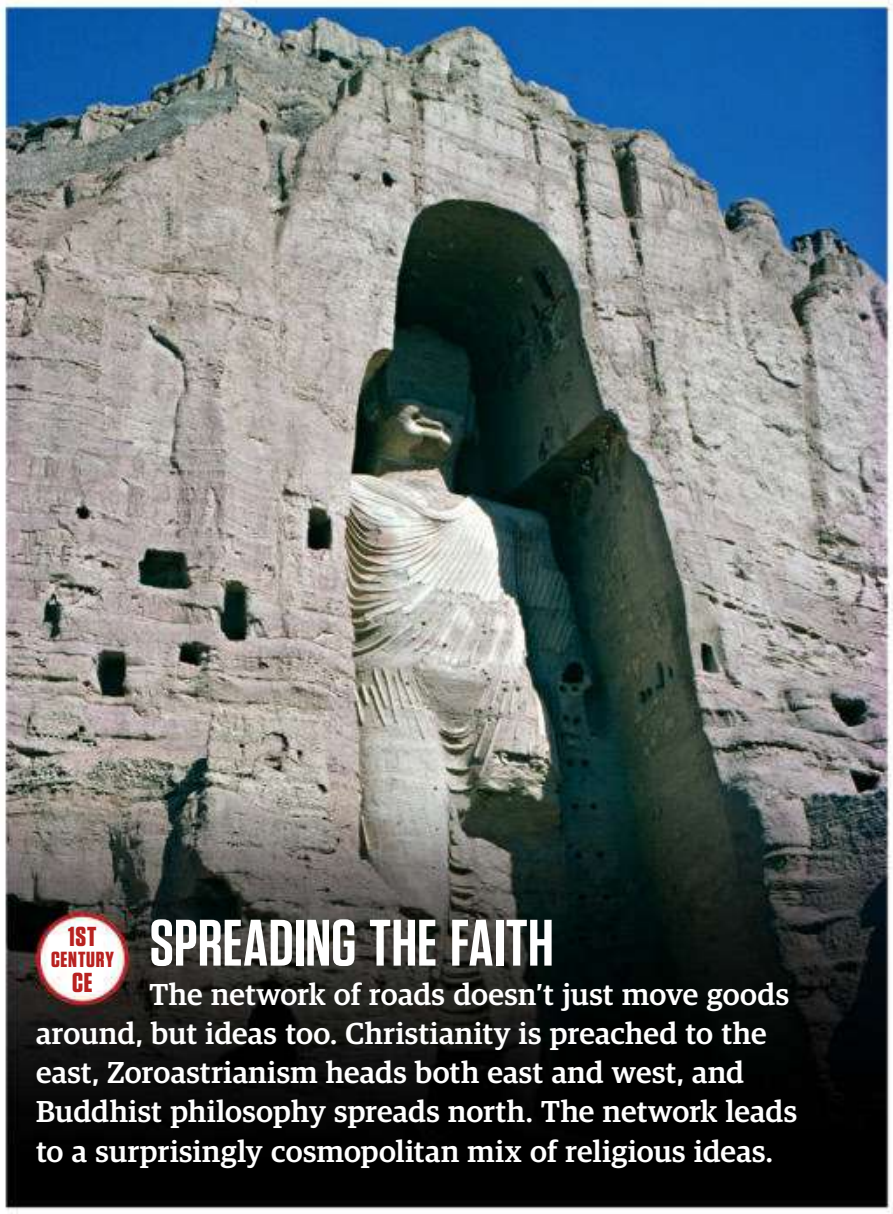
Main image source: © Alamy

Written by Jessica Leggett, Jem Duducu, Catherine Curzon

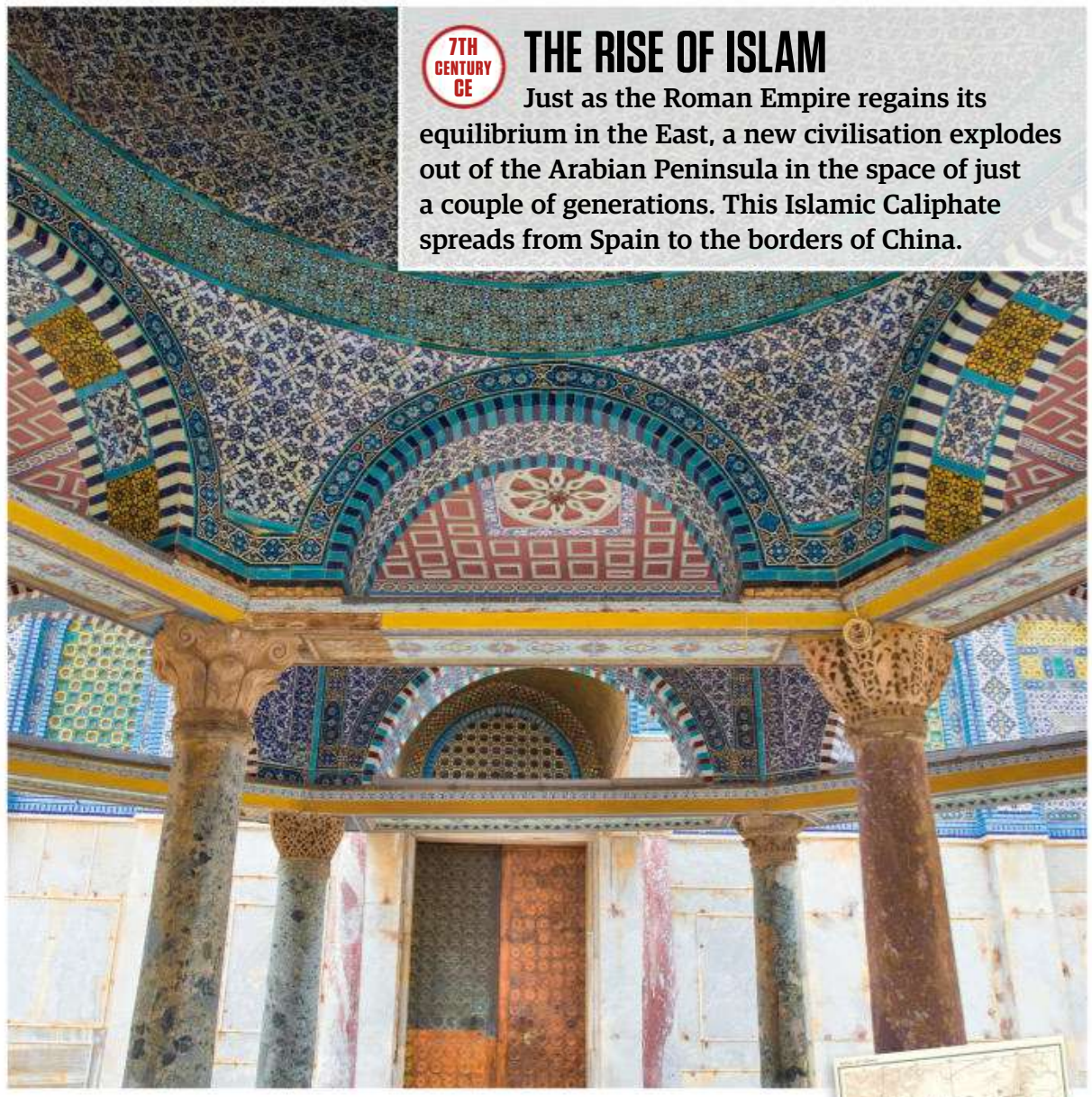
Key Events



1ST CENTURY CE

SPREADING THE FAITH

The network of roads doesn't just move goods around, but ideas too. Christianity is preached to the east, Zoroastrianism heads both east and west, and Buddhist philosophy spreads north. The network leads to a surprisingly cosmopolitan mix of religious ideas.



7TH CENTURY CE

THE RISE OF ISLAM

Just as the Roman Empire regains its equilibrium in the East, a new civilisation explodes out of the Arabian Peninsula in the space of just a couple of generations. This Islamic Caliphate spreads from Spain to the borders of China.

CREATION
2nd century BCE

The start of the Silk Road is a combination of three great powers: the Persian Empire, Alexander the Great's empire and Han China.

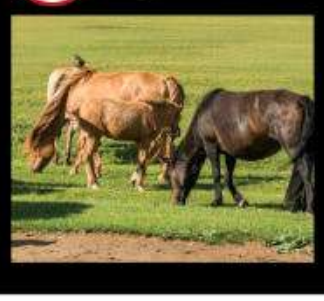
SAFETY AND SECURITY
2nd century CE

Traders always prefer times of peace. If there is a strong power in Persia or China, then the chances of attack by bandits is reduced substantially.

THE THREE KINGDOMS
220-280 CE

In China the Han Dynasty collapses and there is a period known as the Three Kingdoms. Now there are regular wars, trade decreases due to instability.

3630 BCE



GETTING AROUND
1st century BCE

China has a massive demand for horses, and ones from Fergana Valley are seen as so good it is rumoured that they are sired by dragons.

1ST CENTURY CE

MAKING MONEY 117 CE

With Rome at its peak, demand for luxury goods is high. This means more money for China, more trade tariffs for Persia and more silks for the Romans.

5TH-6TH CENTURY CE

7TH CENTURY CE

ISLAMIC CALIPHATE
8TH CENTURY CE

After initial disruption due to conquest, the Islamic civilisation across Central Asia encourages the continued flow of goods along the trade routes.

3630 BCE

ORIGINS OF SILK

Silk comes from silkworms and the first examples of it being used in China date to 3630 BCE. By the Han period in China, silk has become a regularly produced material, although revealing its production secrets is punishable by death.

5TH-6TH CENTURY CE

RISE AND FALL OF EMPIRES

Just as China becomes more stable, there is mounting pressure on the Western Roman Empire that eventually leads to its collapse. This is in part due to mass migration of peoples from central Asia, such as the Huns, who also disrupt trade.

After fighting the Roman Empire the Huns eventually settled and founded the country of Hungary.

1258 MONGOL EMPIRE

Under Genghis Khan and his family the Mongols expand south into China, west into Central Asia and Russia and southwest in the Middle East. The destruction of Baghdad in 1258 ends the Islamic Golden age, with at least 400,000 killed.

The Mongol Empire was the second-largest in history and the largest land-based empire.

ISLAMIC GOLDEN AGE 9TH CENTURY CE

Access to so many cultures, supported by lucrative trade, leads cities like Baghdad and Samarkand to become Islamic centres of scientific discovery.

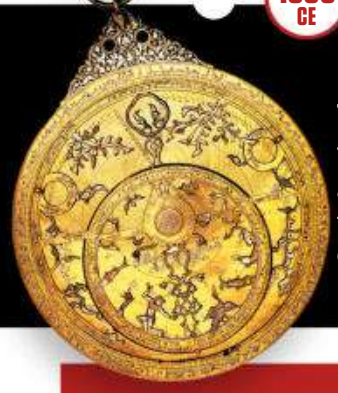
A LEGEND IS BORN 1158

On the Mongolian Steppe, Temujin is born. He will grow up to unite the Mongol tribes and be given the title Genghis Khan.

END OF AN ERA 1720s

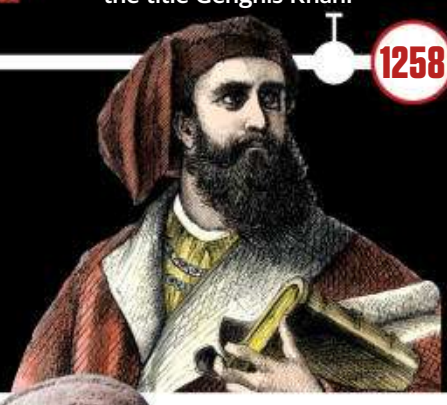
As the Safavid Empire collapses in Persia, maritime trade from Europe to Asia increases and the New World produces resources, the Silk Road gradually fades away.

1000 CE — 1258 — 1345



WESTERN TRADERS 11TH CENTURY

The great trading cities of Genoa and Venice are now connected to the most westerly points of the Silk Road network, increasing their power in Europe.

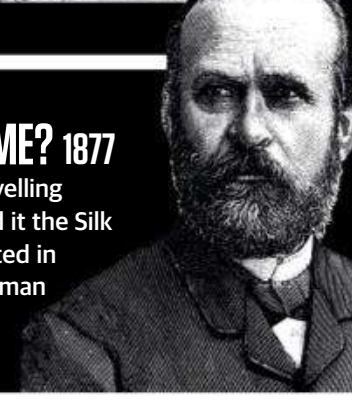


MARCO POLO TRAVELS EAST 1271-95

Venetian Marco Polo travels east along the Silk Road and writes a vivid (but debatably accurate) account of China under the rule of Kublai Khan, grandson of Genghis.

WHAT'S IN A NAME? 1877

None of the traders travelling through Asia ever called it the Silk Road. That term is created in the 19th century by German explorer Ferdinand von Richthofen.



1000 CE BALANCE OF POWER SHIFTS

Central Asia is conquered by the Kara-Khanid Khanate, a Turkic state that quickly converts to Islam. The conquests disrupt trade for a time, but their conversion and settling in the area returns trade to normal. Religions other than Islam fade away.

1345 SIEGE OF KAFFA

The Genoese trading post of Kaffa on the Black Sea is attacked by the Mongol warlord Jani Beg. The attackers get ill and hurl their dead men into the city. The Genoese leave for home in disgust, spreading the Black Death to Europe.

The Black Death was the worst viral outbreak in history, killing between a third to half of Europe's population.

All images: © Alamy

Inside History

CARAVANSERAI

Silk Road

c.3rd century BCE – 19th century

Caravanserais were roadside inns that were built along the Silk Road in areas such as China, Eastern Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and the Indian Subcontinent. They were typically located outside the walls of a city or village and were usually funded by local governments or privately.

The word 'caravanserai' is a combination of the Persian words 'kārvān', which means a group of travellers or a caravan, and 'sarāy', a palace or enclosed building. The term caravan was used to describe groups of people who travelled together across the ancient network for safety reasons, such as merchants, travellers or pilgrims.

From the 10th century onwards, as merchant and travel routes became more developed, the construction of caravanserais increased and they served as a safe place for people to rest at night. Travellers on the Silk Road faced the possibility of being attacked by thieves or being subjected to extreme weather conditions. For this reason, caravanserais were strategically placed so that they could be reached in a day's travel time, with inns welcoming guests from dawn to late at night.

Caravanserais served as an informal meeting point for the various people who travelled the Silk Road. As a result, these structures became important hubs for cultural exchange and interaction, with travellers sharing their cultures, ideas and beliefs, as well as taking knowledge with them, greatly influencing the development of several civilisations.

Caravanserais were also an important marketplace for commodities and aided in the trade of goods along the Silk Road. Indeed, it was frequently the first stop for merchants looking to sell their wares and stock up on supplies for their own journeys. It is believed that around 12,000 to 15,000 caravanserais were built along the Silk Road, although only about 3,000 are known to remain today, many of which are in ruins.

HUB OF INFORMATION

Caravanserais played an important role in facilitating communication along the Silk Road. Some of the inns even housed messenger horses that were dispatched to cities with news that had arrived with travellers and merchants.

THE STABLES

Hundreds of animals arrived at the caravanserai and the courtyard had to be large enough to accommodate them. Travellers and merchants could tie up their camels and horses, and the animals could sleep in stables or bays built into the courtyard's enclosure. Food and hay for the animals were also kept in the storerooms.

SECURE COMPOUND

Caravanserais had a high-walled exterior and were typically rectangular or square in shape. Those that were located near borders often served as fortresses, with fortified walls and outposts for soldiers. This added security helped to protect the caravanserai from bandits.

ENTRANCE

Caravanserais typically had only one entrance and exit, though larger compounds occasionally had two. The high gate had to be large enough for camels and horses to pass through, loaded with the goods they were transporting.

ROOMS

Caravanserais had at least two levels, with the upper levels containing small rooms for merchants to rest after a long journey. Some of these rooms came with a small window and possibly a place for a fire.

MOSQUE

Religious beliefs were spread by travellers and pilgrims as they met along the Silk Road. Islam spread throughout Central Asia in the early Middle Ages and so many caravanserais had small mosques located in the courtyard.

THE COURTYARD

At the centre of a caravanserai was an open-air courtyard, which usually featured a fountain or a well to provide water for travellers and their animals. Some caravanserais also had a sabil or sebil, a fountain that was used for ritual ablutions.

THE MARKETPLACE

Passing merchants could trade and sell their wares in these roadside inns' marketplaces, which were either inside or attached to the caravanserai. The larger caravanserais along the Silk Road would have multiple shops and stalls, called bazaars, running throughout the centre.

PUBLIC BATHHOUSE

The larger caravanserais located along the trade routes often had additional amenities such as public baths for travellers to wash themselves after a long journey. Some caravanserais had hammams, a steam bath that is associated with the Islamic world.

MAINTAINING ORDER

The day-to-day running of these inns was managed by a caretaker. It was their responsibility to collect entrance fees from those wishing to stay at the caravanserai, oversee transactions made in the marketplace, and maintain security.

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

Anatomy

SILK WEAVER

China
c.3000 BCE – present

ORIGIN OF SERICULTURE

Leizu was a legendary Chinese empress and wife of the Yellow Emperor. According to Chinese tradition, she supposedly discovered silk after a silkworm cocoon fell into her tea and unravelled. Leizu began rearing silkworms, and it's also said that she invented the silk loom.

CREATING SILK

Weavers would unwind the cocoons after the silk fibres had been loosened, then combine several of the fibres to form silk threads that were strong enough to weave. The threads were then woven into a cloth.

STATUS SYMBOL

Silk was once a luxurious material reserved only for the most powerful members of society, such as the emperor and his family. These restrictions were gradually lifted, and more people were permitted to wear silk if they could afford it.

WOMEN'S WORK

In ancient China, as well as weaving it was women who were responsible for silk farming, taking care of the silkworms and feeding them mulberry leaves. This slowly began to change during the Song Dynasty, when the Chinese economy became more commercialised.

SOFTENING THE SILK

After the silk threads were woven into a cloth, the silk cloth was very stiff. To make the fabric soft enough to wear, the cloth would be laid out on a block and pounded repeatedly with a wooden club.

SILK CULTIVATION

The Chinese bred silkworms and fed them mulberry leaves to produce silk. The cocoons would be laid out on trays and steamed to kill the moths inside, then rinsed with boiling water to loosen the silk fibres.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

CHILD'S COAT

Evidence of Silk Road inter-cultural exchange Sogdiana and China, c.8th century

The Silk Road, a sprawling network of ancient land and maritime trade routes, connected the east to the west and bridged the gap between distant civilisations. Although this network famously gained its name from the lucrative trade of Chinese silk, other textiles such as wool, cotton and linen were also bought and sold along the Silk Road. Of course, lots of other different commodities were traded too, including ceramics, spices, incense, food, medicines, precious stone and metals.

Even though the Silk Road is perhaps best known for the trade of goods, it also led to an increase in cultural and intellectual interactions between distant regions. Numerous cities that developed along the network, such as Samarkand, became centres of culture and learning. Scientific ideas, art, architecture, technologies, philosophical and religious beliefs were subsequently disseminated, with this knowledge influencing the cultural, political and economic development of civilisations that were located along the Silk Road.

Many artefacts exist that combine materials, motifs and techniques to show the impact of the cultural and intellectual interaction that occurred along these historic trading routes. Clothing and textiles from the Silk Road are particularly useful for highlighting the inter-cultural exchange that took place between merchants, travellers, nomads and agriculturalists, as well as their way of life. For example, the impact of this can be seen in the development and adaptation of garment types and production techniques.

Furthermore, the designs and ornamentations found on surviving clothing and textiles, such as stylised fauna or flora, reveal how textile-makers were influenced by myths and narratives from other regions. These designs may have been influenced by the objects owned by traders from various countries, and they are important evidence of cross-cultural contact.

This child's coat is an example of a garment that is made from fabrics that were woven in Sogdiana and China. Between the 4th and 8th centuries, Sogdiana, an ancient Iranian civilisation located in modern-day Uzbekistan, dominated the trade from east to west. This coat was most likely owned by a young Tibetan prince at a time when Tibet's power reached as far as eastern Central Asia, China and Sogdiana's trade routes.

EXPENSIVE CLOTHING

Because the coat is only 84.5cm wide across the shoulder and 51.4cm long from the back of the neck to the hem, it is thought to have been made for a young Tibetan prince. The rich fabric also suggests it belonged to a member of the nobility or imperial family.

INTRICATE DESIGN

The outer fabric is woven in five colours and decorated with paired ducks in pearl roundels, a Sogdiana design. The coat's inner lining is a Chinese-made twill damask featuring a radial floral pattern.

PRISTINE GARMENT

Despite being around 1,300 years old, it's in excellent condition and was most likely given as a diplomatic gift or used as currency rather than being worn. The coat is the Cleveland Museum of Art's oldest dated textile.

FULL OUTFIT

This coat is part of a set that included a pair of white silk pants and silk boots as well. A radial pattern of flowers and birds in the style of the Tang Dynasty from the eighth century adorns the pants.

© The Cleveland Museum of Art

Hall of Fame

FAMOUS TRAVELLERS

Meet ten men and women who journeyed along the Silk Road in the name of diplomacy, trade and travel

Wang Zhaojun

Chinese , c.50 BCE – c.15 BCE

The other three women of the famous 'Four Beauties' were Xi Shi, Diaochan, and Yang Guifei

Wang Zhaojun is a popular legendary figure from the Han Dynasty who is regarded as one of the 'Four Beauties' of ancient China. In 33 BCE, Huhanye, the Khan of Mongolia's Xiongnu tribe, approached Emperor Yuan to make peace. He wanted to cement their new alliance by marrying a Han woman, and so Yuan chose Wang Zhaojun to be Huhanye's bride. She famously travelled along the Silk Road to begin her new life as the Queen of the Xiongnu, becoming the symbol of the peace between the Han and Xiongnu. The story of her journey is still told today.

Image source: wiki/ Sallko

BAN CHAO

CHINESE, 32 CE – 102 CE

Ban Chao was a military general during the Eastern Han Dynasty and one of the most renowned diplomats in Chinese history. He reopened the Silk Road to the West and extended it to Europe for the first time in 73 CE, allowing trade with the Roman Empire to begin. Ban Chao spent more than three decades living in the West, during which time he established diplomatic relations with a number of countries along the famous trade routes.

XUANZANG CHINESE, 602-64

Many Buddhist monks travelled the Silk Road on pilgrimages. Xuanzang, a Tang Dynasty monk, set out to collect Buddhist scriptures for China. He travelled through Central Asia on his way to India, collecting many Buddhist texts, statues and relics. After a 16-year journey, he returned to China and translated the Sanskrit manuscripts that he had gathered. Xuanzang also wrote *The Great Tang Records on the Western Regions*, an account of his journey that provides insight into life along the Silk Road.

Marco Polo

Venetian, c.1254 – 1324

Kublai Khan gave Polo a 'paiza,' a golden tablet of authority, which allowed him to travel safely through the Mongol Empire

Marco Polo, the most famous European to travel along the Silk Road, embarked on an expedition to Central Asia with his father and uncle in 1271. They were appointed as emissaries to Kublai Khan's court, where Polo served as a messenger for the Mongol ruler on diplomatic missions throughout China and Southeast Asia. Polo spent more than two decades travelling the Silk Road before returning to Venice in 1294. Captured during Venice's war with Genoa, Polo dictated his travel stories to another captive, Rustichello of Pisa. The result was Polo's famous account *The Travels of Marco Polo*.

7x © Alamy

Ibn Battuta

Moroccan, 1304 – c.1368

Ibn Battuta was a Muslim scholar who began his extensive travels when he was around 21 years old with a pilgrimage to Mecca. Following that, he resolved to travel throughout the Islamic world, and he did so for the next 29 years, visiting numerous Muslim countries as well as others such as Russia, China and India. When Battuta returned to Morocco in 1354, he wrote *The Rihla*, an account of his adventures. Despite the fact that his work has been overshadowed by authors such as Marco Polo, he is frequently referred to as the greatest explorer of all time.

In his lifetime, Ibn Battuta travelled around 120,000km, more than any other pre-modern explorer

Image source: wiki/ Ernst Stavro Blofeld

PRINCESS WENCHENG

CHINESE, C.628 – C.680

The founding king of Tibet, Songtsen Gampo, sought peace with Tang Dynasty Emperor Taizong, sending diplomats to the Chinese court to request a princess to marry. Such marriages were a common method used by Chinese emperors to maintain peace along the Silk Road and keep it open. Taizong chose Princess Wencheng and in 640 she was sent along the Silk Road to marry the Tibetan king. Settling in her new home, Wencheng is credited with spreading Buddhism in Tibet.

Zhang Qian

Chinese, 164 BCE – c.114 BCE

Zhang Qian, a diplomat of the Western Han dynasty, was dispatched to Central Asia by Emperor Wu in 138 BCE. He led an expedition to contact the Yuezhi in the hopes of forming an alliance against the Xiongnu, but the Xiongnu captured Qian and his companions. They finally escaped after a decade in captivity and Qian continued his mission, only for the Yuezhi to reject the alliance. Even though he had failed, Qian gained a wealth of knowledge about the West, which led to the establishment of the Silk Road and China's expansion into the West.

WILLIAM OF RUBRUCK

FLEMISH, C.1215 – C.1295

In 1253, King Louis IX of France dispatched William of Rubruck, a Flemish Franciscan friar and missionary, to convert the Mongols to Christianity. He kept a detailed account of his time with the Mongols, which he presented to Louis upon his return in 1255. William was notably the first European to write an eyewitness account of Karakorum, the Mongol Empire's capital.

Image source: wiki/parker.standford.edu

GIOVANNI DA PIAN DEL CARPINI

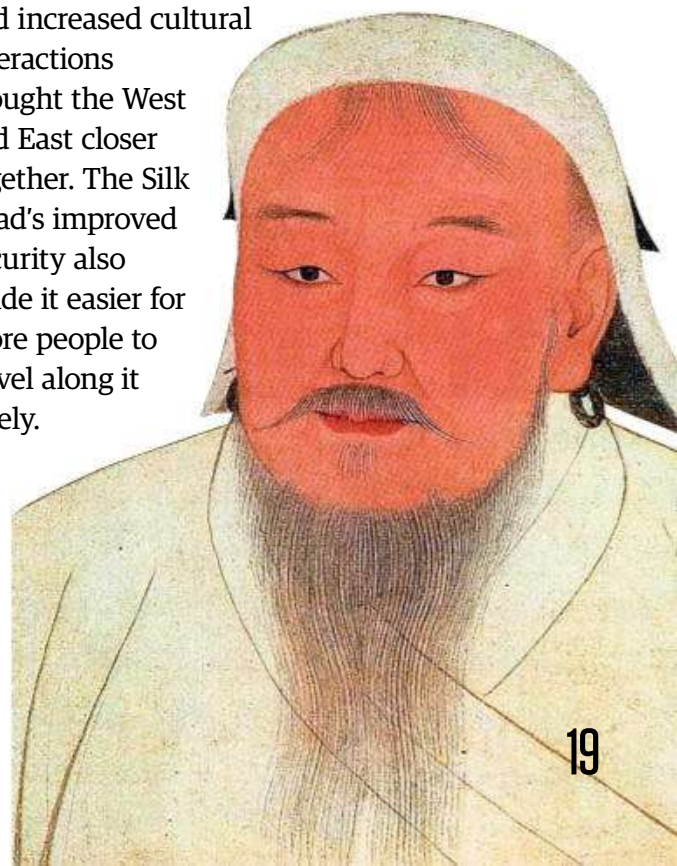
ITALIAN, C.1180 – 1252

In 1245, Pope Innocent IV dispatched Franciscan friars Giovanni da Pian del Carpini and Benedict the Pole to the Mongol court on a diplomatic mission. Carpini is credited with being the first notable European to visit the Far East, and he returned after two years. Carpini chronicled his travels along the Silk Road in a manuscript titled *History of the Mongols Whom We Call the Tartars*, which provides a comprehensive account of the Mongols in the 13th century.

GENGHIS KHAN

MONGOLIAN, C.1158 – 1227

The founder of the Mongol Empire, Genghis Khan's numerous conquests, in addition to the conquests of his successors, across Asia and Europe brought almost the entire Silk Road completely under Mongol control. This resulted in the Pax Mongolica, a period of peace during which Mongol protection increased stability and communication along trade routes, allowing more goods to flow freely. Cities that had previously been destroyed, such as Samarkand, were rebuilt, and increased cultural interactions brought the West and East closer together. The Silk Road's improved security also made it easier for more people to travel along it safely.



Q&A

SLAVERY AND THE SILK ROAD

Professor Susan Whitfield reveals what we know about slavery along the famous trade routes

When it comes to the history of the Silk Road, a lot of emphasis is placed on what was traded to the West from China. But what lucrative goods were traded *to* China?

The list is long because elites in the kingdoms and empires of China learned about new imports and developed expensive tastes in decoration, clothing, jewellery, food and drink. So, to name a few items, we see lapis and jade from Central Asia; glass and rugs from Persia and Rome; horses from the steppe and Samarkand; furs from northern Russia; saffron from India; camphor from Borneo; ivory from Africa – and much more. The trade across Asia and with Africa – between north and south, as well as east and west, was at the heart of the Silk Roads. Europe for most of this time was on the periphery.

What evidence do we have for the slave trade along the Silk Road?

Slaves were part of life in almost every Silk Road culture and country. In terms of evidence we have contemporary contracts for the sale of slaves, sometimes even by parents selling their children because of poverty; reports of pirates abducting people from coastal villages on the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean or the South China Sea and selling them as slaves; documents about slave routes, such as that of slaves bought in Prague and then sold on at markets in southern Europe for distribution around the Mediterranean; pictures of slaves and slave markets; and legal documents on the status of slaves. We also have stories written by slaves or featuring slaves, ranging from *One Thousand and One Nights* to Viking epics.

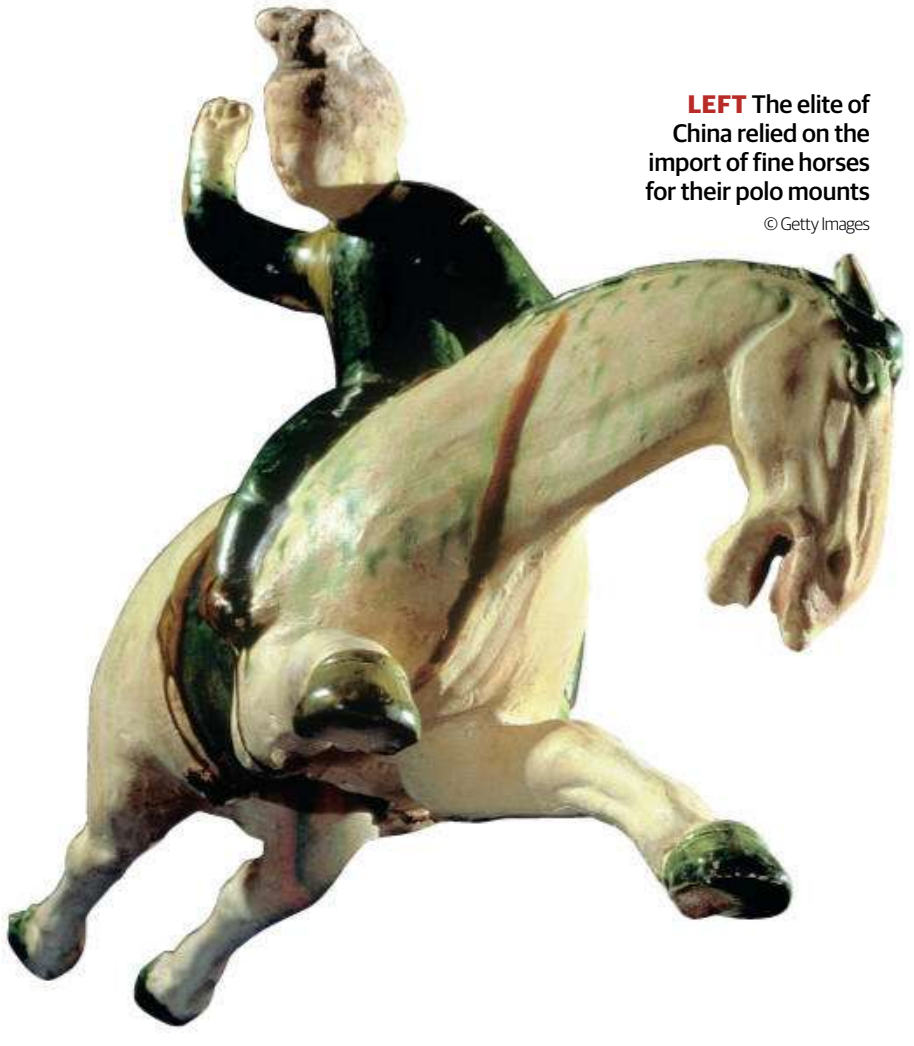
What do we know about the slaves? Where did they come from?

Slaves came from all over the Silk Road and anyone might become a slave. For example, soldiers taken in war or raids by land and sea were often sold into slavery, whether they were Turks from the steppe, Slavs from eastern Europe or southeast-Asian peoples living in southern China when it was invaded by armies from the north. Young women were often abducted and sold, a practice found across Eurasia: Shandong, a slave market on the coast of northern China, sold young women from the Korean peninsula; while buyers in Dublin could find slaves taken on Viking raids. And captured young men were often then castrated to be sold as eunuch servants in various courts across Eurasia.

In what ways did the Silk Road influence the development of nations and empires?

While the concept of the nation-state is more recent than the Silk Road, land empires that conquered and settled lands beyond their own are found throughout Silk Road history. Examples include the Abbasid Caliphate that spread westwards from Baghdad to conquer countries around the Mediterranean as well as eastwards into Central Asia, and the Tang Empire that spread from the Yellow River Basin into southern China and central Asia. The two empires met in battle in 751 on the Talas River in Central Asia: both armies were far from their homelands. The Abbasids won, but it made little difference as both empires were at the limits of the lands they could sustain and control. There were also several alliances of peoples from the steppe in northern Eurasia who moved south, such as the Xiongnu into the northern Chinese plains; the Kushan into central Asia and northern India; and, of course, Mongols who spread across Asia and into Europe to create one of the largest empires in history. But, like all empires, the Mongols could not sustain continued expansion nor repel attacks across its territories and so, after its expansion, it gradually reduced, fragmented and then came to an end.

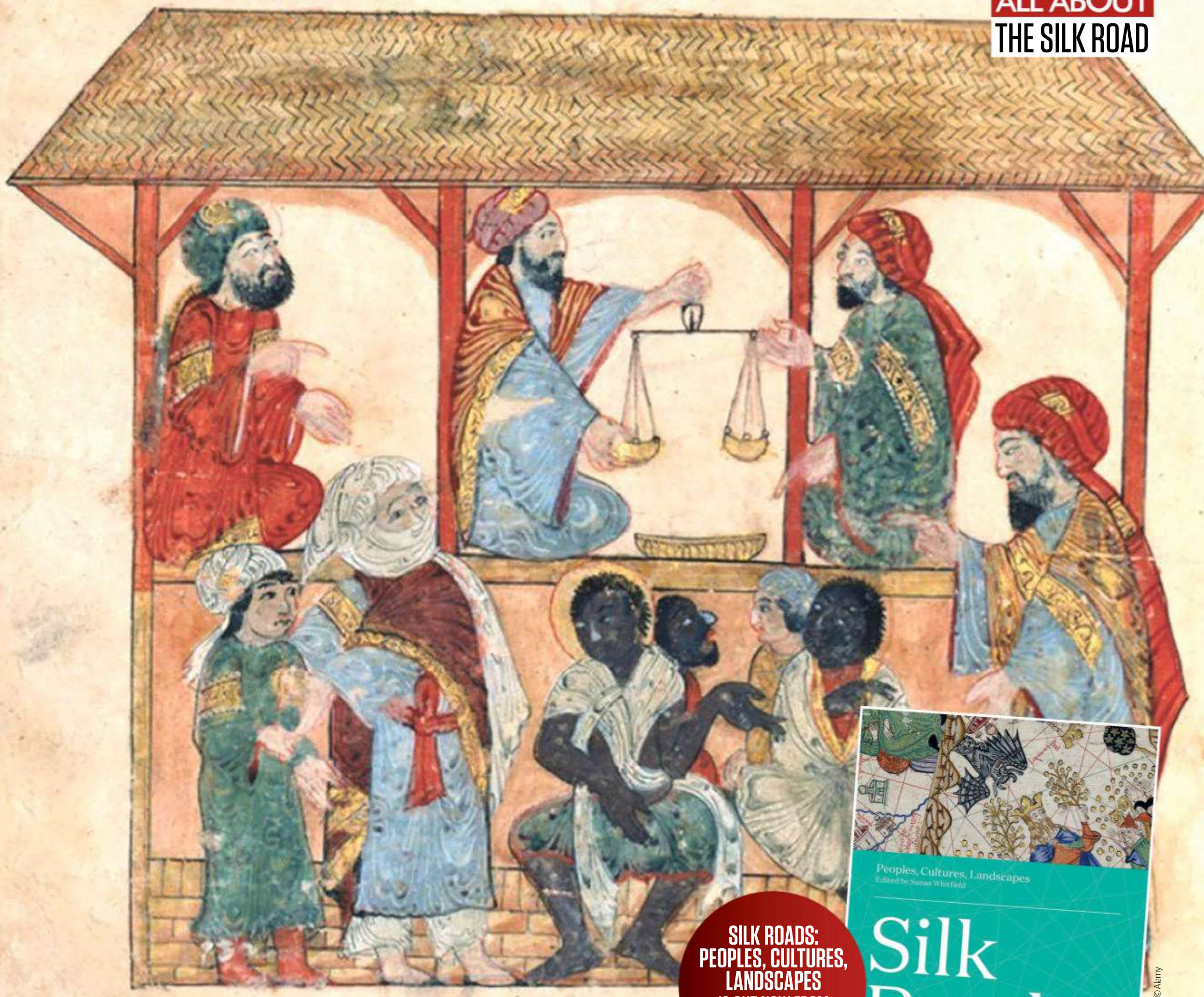
Susan Whitfield is Professor in Silk Road Studies at the University of East Anglia and Honorary Associate Professor at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London. She is a former curator at the British Library and the author of several books, including *Silk, Slaves and Stupas: Material Culture of the Silk Road* (University of California Press, 2018).



LEFT The elite of China relied on the import of fine horses for their polo mounts

© Getty Images

Headshot source: Susan Whitfield



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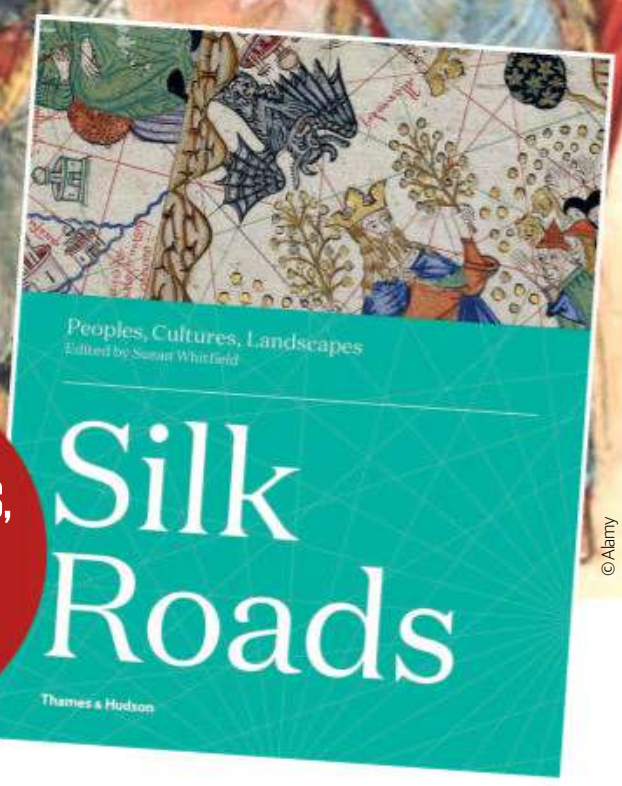
SILK ROADS: PEOPLES, CULTURES, LANDSCAPES
IS OUT NOW FROM THAMES & HUDSON



Is it true that the Silk Road marked the beginning of globalisation?
Although commonly heard nowadays, this is rather misleading as globalisation is generally taken to mean sustained and interdependent global connections, that is connections which include the Americas. Although there is evidence of the Vikings reaching the east coast of North America, they were there briefly and there is no firm evidence for other, let alone sustained, links with Afro-Eurasia across the Americas. Of course, we yet might find evidence of some links – some peoples have always travelled to distant lands – but it is highly improbable that we will discover this resulted in any interdependency, as we would probably have already seen evidence of this.

The Silk Roads, therefore, are sustained routes of connection and trade by land and sea across Afro-Eurasia. Although I think we can argue for an interdependence across this region, this does not, strictly speaking, represent globalisation.

What do you think is a common misconception about the Silk Road?
That there was an actual 'Silk Road'! 'Silk Road/s' is a construct that we use for a period and regions in history that have certain common characteristics: sustained long-distance and inter-regional contact, including trade. It is useful as a construct for describing and researching these activities and their consequences in different regions and cultures. There were multiple routes for such contact, by land and sea, and they adapted depending on circumstance. There was little direct trade between distant countries: merchants traded goods from one market to another, whether land-locked or a river or sea port. Silk – both the thread and woven cloth – was an important part of this but not always the main item of trade. Nor did it go only from China: other places developed their own silk and silk-weaving expertise and also traded silk, including selling to China. The Silk Roads, therefore, covers a complex and mutable web of routes and movements.

ABOVE Many slave markets were found across Afro-Eurasia, such as this one in today's Yemen

Places to Explore

VISIT THE SILK ROAD

From medieval cities to museums and mountains, the wonders of the Silk Road await

1 CHINA NATIONAL SILK MUSEUM
HANGZHOU, CHINA

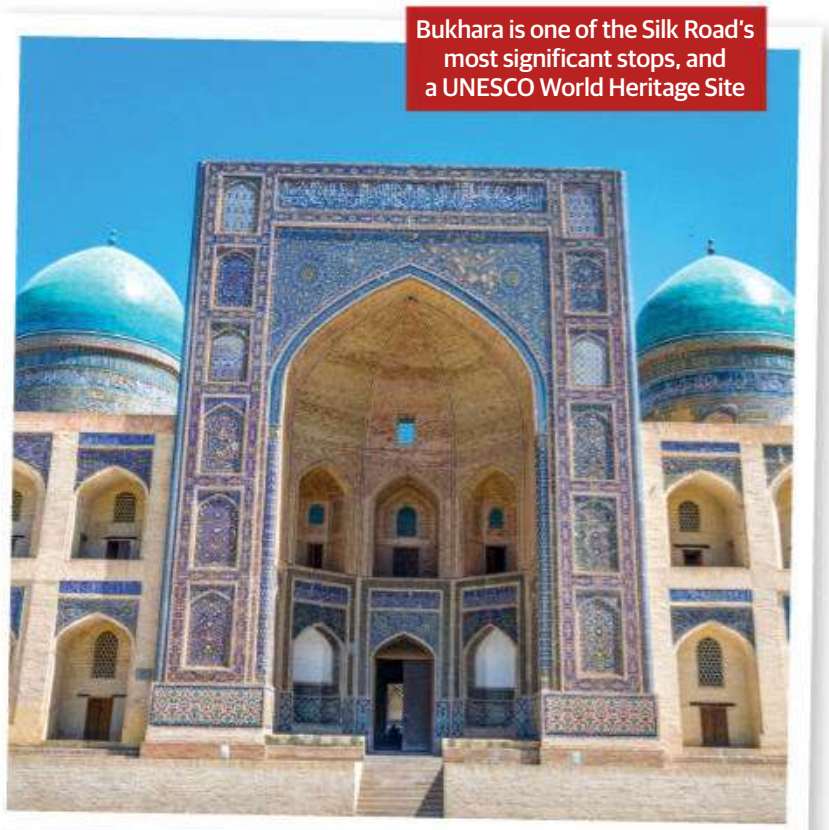
The China National Silk Museum was opened in 1992 and houses an enormous collection of ancient Chinese silks and textiles that tell the story of a changing world. Its attractions include an extensive Silk Road Gallery, in which many of the exhibits on display were excavated from historic sites along the ancient Silk Road and are now conserved for future generations. The museum's galleries offer a unique insight into changing textile methods and fashion, from China and across the globe.

The museum is one of the most important centres for textile research and conservation in China and the largest silk museum in the world. As a centre of research excellence, it facilitates collaboration between museums, universities, archaeological sites and other institutions along the old trade routes. The China National Silk Museum is an excellent starting point for visitors who want to know more about the historic Silk Road.

Mon: 12.00pm-5.00pm, Tues-Sun: 9.00am-5.00pm
Free entry

The China National Silk Museum tells the story of textiles along the Silk Road, with a wealth of exhibits

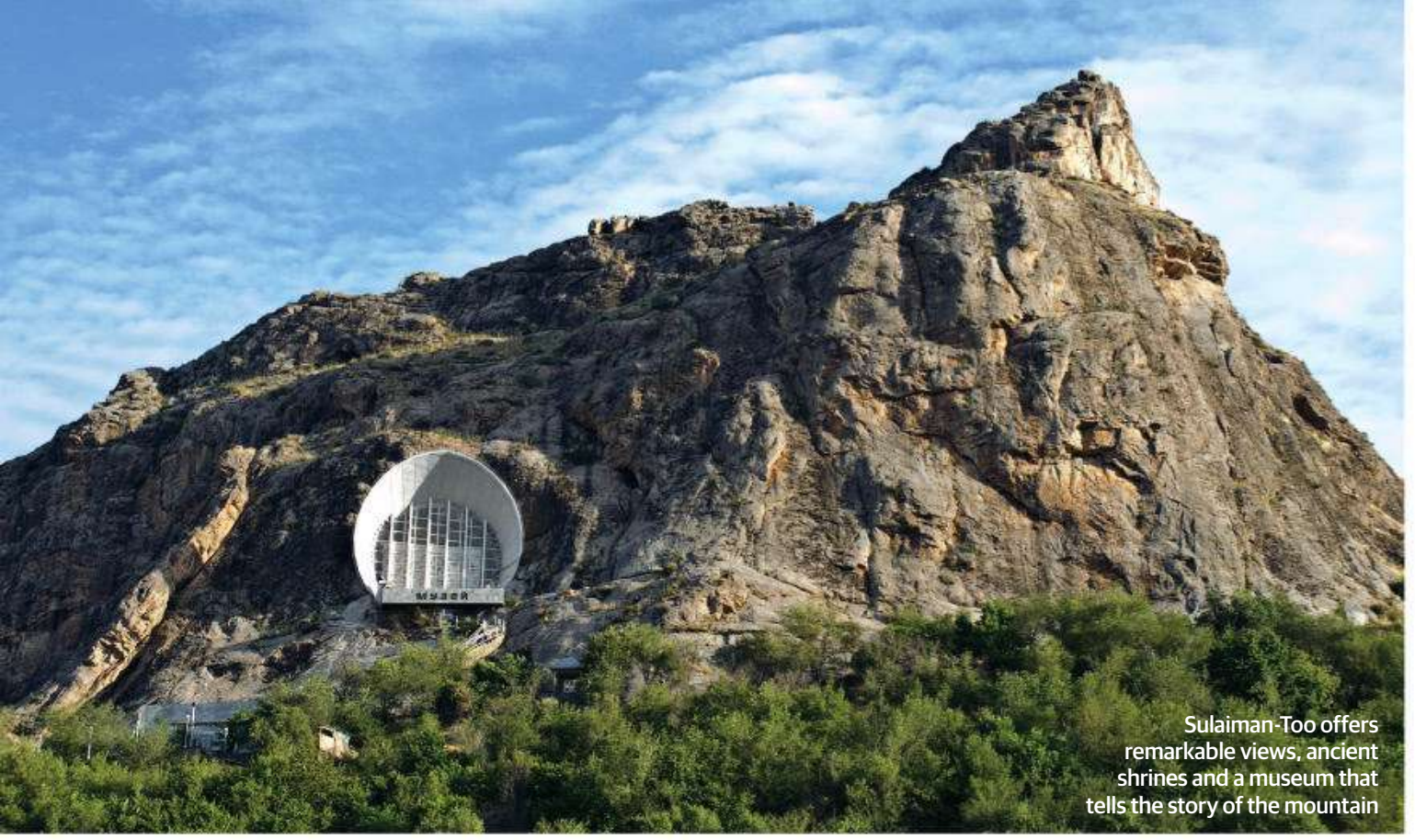
2 BUKHARA
BUKHARA REGION, UZBEKISTAN



Bukhara is one of the Silk Road's most significant stops, and a UNESCO World Heritage Site

The ancient city of Bukhara is more than 2,000 years old. It was an important stop on the Silk Road, where it established itself as a place of trade and cultural exchange. This historic centre of Bukhara has been listed by UNESCO as a World Heritage Site, while the region around the city has been continually inhabited for more than 5,000 years.

Bukhara is a breathtaking example of a Central Asian medieval city, and the most complete example of its kind that exists today. Travellers to the vibrant city can visit over 100 historic monuments, including the 10th century tomb of Ismail Samani, the Poi-Kalyan ensemble and the 17th century great mosque of Magoki Kurns. A walk through Bukhara can feel like a walk back through time itself, and this remarkable city offers travellers a true Silk Road experience, from bazaars stocked with local goods to architecture and monuments that span the centuries. Bukhara offers a unique insight into a changing world, as well as the cross-cultural influences that can be found along the Silk Road.



Sulaiman-Too offers remarkable views, ancient shrines and a museum that tells the story of the mountain

3 SULAIMAN-TOO
OSH, KYRGYZSTAN

One of the most dramatic sites on the Silk Road is Sulaiman-Too. The mountain rises over the city of Osh, which was once one of the major crossroads on the Central Asian Silk Roads. For centuries travellers have stopped off at the city's vast bazaars before making a pilgrimage to the mountain shrines. It is the most famous example of a sacred mountain in Central Asia and is still an active place of worship today.

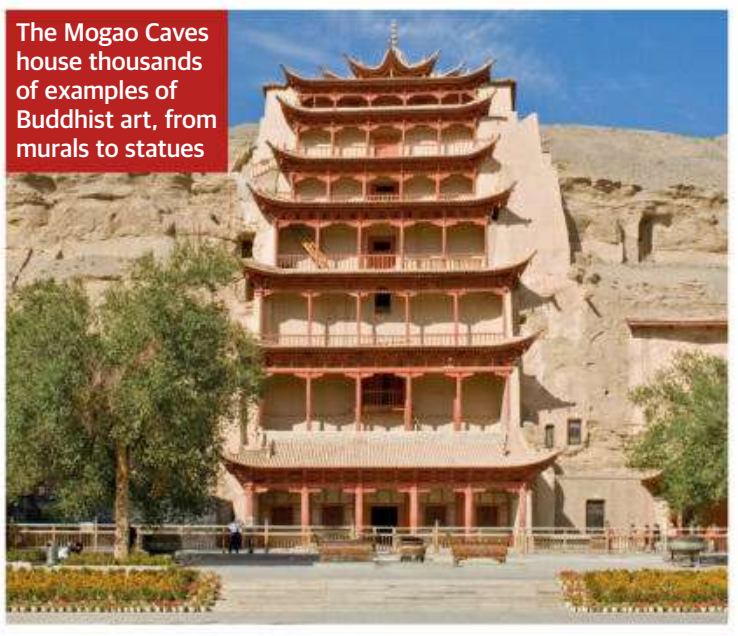
For visitors willing to tackle the climb, the peaks of Sulaiman-Too offer the opportunity to be immersed in an ancient site that has been attracting travellers along the Silk Road since its earliest beginnings. This sacred mountain is a place steeped in mysticism and symbolism, and today visitors can still observe shrines that have stood for centuries. Though many shrines were destroyed during Soviet rule, those that remain offer a fascinating insight into the region's sacred history, where pilgrims sought to be cured of anything from headaches to infertility. The mountain also offers unparalleled views across Osh and the Fergana Valley, where the ancient trade routes converged.

Visitors to Sulaiman-Too can also stop at the cave museum and examine artefacts dating from the prehistoric era and beyond. It tells the story not just of the mountain, but of the people to whom it is sacred.

Mon-Sun: 8.30am-6.00pm
Mountain climb: 20 som, Museum entry: 150 som

4 THE MOGAO CAVES
GANSU PROVINCE, CHINA

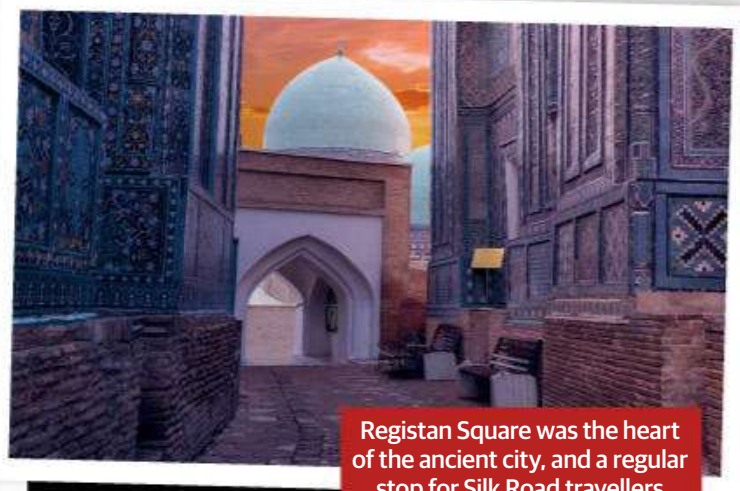
High above the Dachuan River in the Gansu Province, the Mogao Caves are home to one of the most important collections of Buddhist art in the world. Constructed in 366 CE, the network of nearly 500 caves offers visitors the opportunity to view a stunning collection of sculptures and murals. Here they can see the history of the Silk Road as it happened and enjoy a unique insight into the day-to-day life of medieval China.



The Mogao Caves house thousands of examples of Buddhist art, from murals to statues

The caves are situated close to the Dunhuang Oasis, where two major routes of the Silk Road met, and the Magao Caves are a splendid place in which to observe a millennia of Buddhist art, some of it inspired by the silk route travellers who passed through. The attached visitor centre also shows a variety of films explaining the history of the Silk Road and the significance of the site, while ticket prices include a guided tour of a selection of the caves.

Mon-Sun: 8.00am-6.00pm (Apr-Nov),
Mon-Sun: 9.00am-5.30pm (Dec-Mar)
¥258



Registan Square was the heart of the ancient city, and a regular stop for Silk Road travellers

5 SAMARKAND
SAMARKAND REGION, UZBEKISTAN

There are few cities on the Silk Road as important as Samarkand, which has been a centre of commerce and culture for more than 2,000 years. The city is rich with history and can be found in Chinese writings of the second century. Because of its strategic location and importance to trade, Samarkand has been a melting pot for both religion and culture, and though it is a bustling and busy city today, evidence of its ancient origins can be found everywhere.

Those wishing to immerse themselves in the history of Samarkand can do so among the remains of the 7th century settlement of Afrosiab, which was sacked by Genghis Khan. Excavations have uncovered the remains of the citadel and its fortifications, while fragments of decorative murals can still be seen in the abandoned palace. Afrosiab also houses the remains of a large mosque, long-ruined residences and craft workshops. There is a museum too, showcasing the history of the site and the discoveries made there.

Visitors to Samarkand will find a wealth of elements to interest them, including the stunning Guri Amir Mausoleum, recognised as a masterpiece of Islamic architecture. No trip is complete without a wander through Registan Square, once the beating heart of the ancient city and the place where Silk Road travellers came to experience Samarkand.

All images: © Alamy

Visitors to Samarkand will find a city filled with historic architecture, as well as ancient ruins

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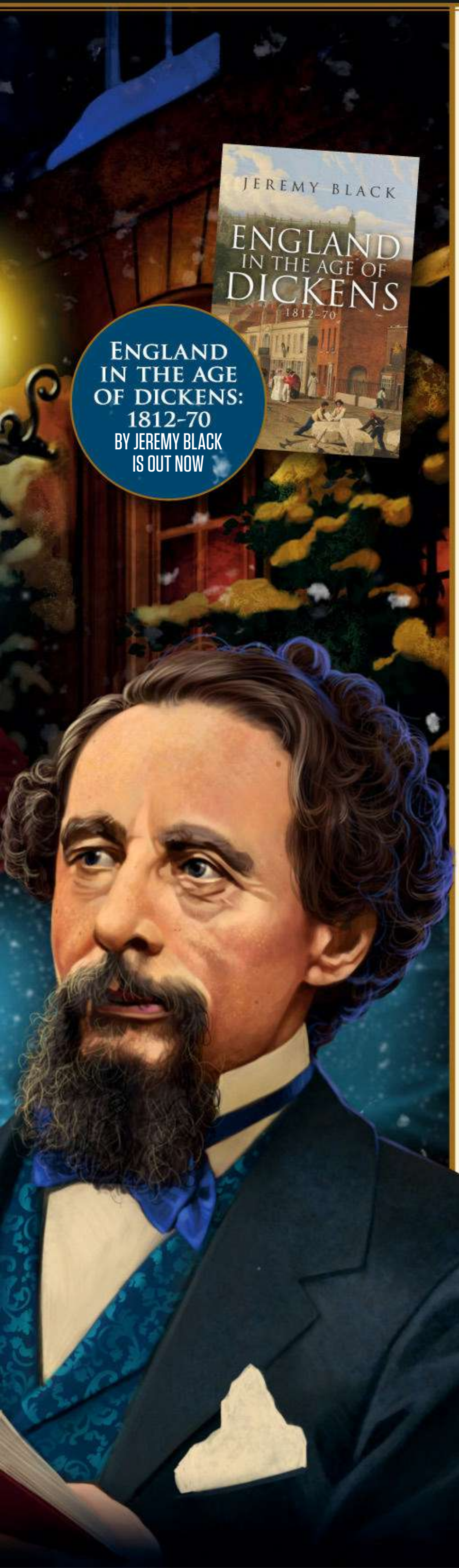
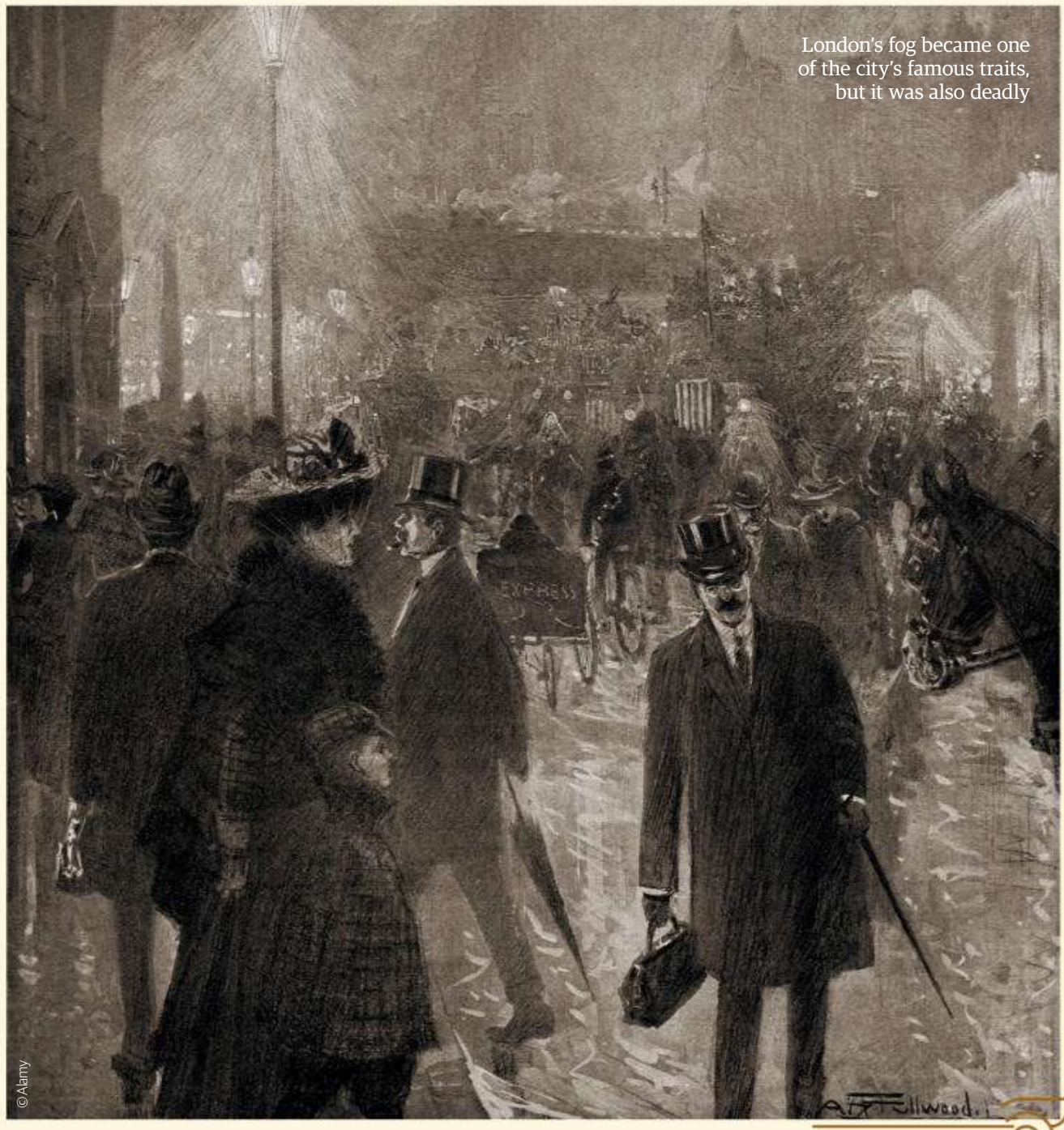
DICKENS' LONDON

Inside the real-life crime and grime that inspired literature's greatest novels

Written by Jeremy Black

Illustration by: Joe Cummings





London's fog became one of the city's famous traits, but it was also deadly

© Alamy

Until the Carnaby Street of the 1960s and, alongside images and experiences provided by war and royal occasions, the iconic images of London have frequently been Victorian. Charles Dickens and Jack the Ripper helped give the capital a reputation for squalor and danger that, despite being just one aspect of London, was an aspect that gripped the popular imagination thanks to the printing press. The same can be said of Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories. These accounts circulated not only within the Anglosphere but also throughout the wider world, further enhancing London's somewhat grisly reputation.

As well as being the capital of the largest empire in the world it was the centre of many spheres of informal influence. Alongside the physical communications structure, notably the docks and railway stations, were the postal service and telegraphy that moved around ideas and literature.

London became a world city in the 19th century, dramatically so with the Great Exhibition of 1851, thanks to the growth of the empire and the metropolis itself, with its political, commercial and cultural power. This was further marked in London by triumphant monuments to its military heroes, notably in Trafalgar Square but also across central London. National greatness was also on display in new street names, although Dickens could be sceptical about this trend, as shown in his discussion of the Circumlocution Office in *Little Dorrit* and about both economic liberalism and reforming 'Chadwickism' in *Hard Times*. Dickens was also sardonic about MPs, as in *Nicholas Nickleby* with Gregsbury and his "tolerable command of sentences with no meaning in them... whether I look merely at home, or... contemplate the boundless prospect of conquest and possession – achieved by British perseverance and British valour – which is outspread before me, I clasp my hands, and turning my eyes to the broad expanse above my head, exclaim, 'Thank Heaven, I am a Briton!'."

Industrial hub

London in Dickens' lifetime was a centre of technological development, not least in manufacturing, although not on the scale of Coketown in *Hard Times*. Steam transformed many industries, including ▶

newspaper production. In 1814 *The Times* announced "the greatest improvement connected with printing since the discovery of the art itself" as it switched to a steam-powered press, allowing the production of 1,000 impressions an hour as opposed to the 250 per hour from an unmechanised hand-press. Prefiguring the move of *The Times* to new production facilities in Wapping in 1986, the machinery used in 1814 was secretly prepared to prevent the opposition of workers, who had already mounted a strike in 1810.

Dickens describes the spread of industry even to the edge of the Thames in *David Copperfield* as the titular character follows Martha Endell along the marshy banks of the river from Westminster south past "the great blank Prison" Millbank Penitentiary: "The clash and glare of sundry fiery Works upon the river-side, arose by night to disturb everything except the heavy and unbroken smoke that poured out of their chimneys." Manufacturing continued to be important throughout the century, providing employment and profit that in turn fostered demand elsewhere in the economy. Although labour, rental and coal costs were relatively high, investment and working capital was available, as was Europe's largest consumer market, one of its leading ports, and a range of skills. The presence of so much industry provided supply, demand, skill and the equivalent of an assembly line shared between enterprises. There were also skilled trades growing in the city, including the silk industry in Spitalfields and clock-makers in Clerkenwell. This concentration of activity proved beneficial for both the industrial and service sectors, and contributed to the presence of specialised industrial districts. Another example of adaptability included the response late in the century to advances in retailing by means of the production of branded goods, which proved a way to provide scale in consumer-led industries.

Transport for London

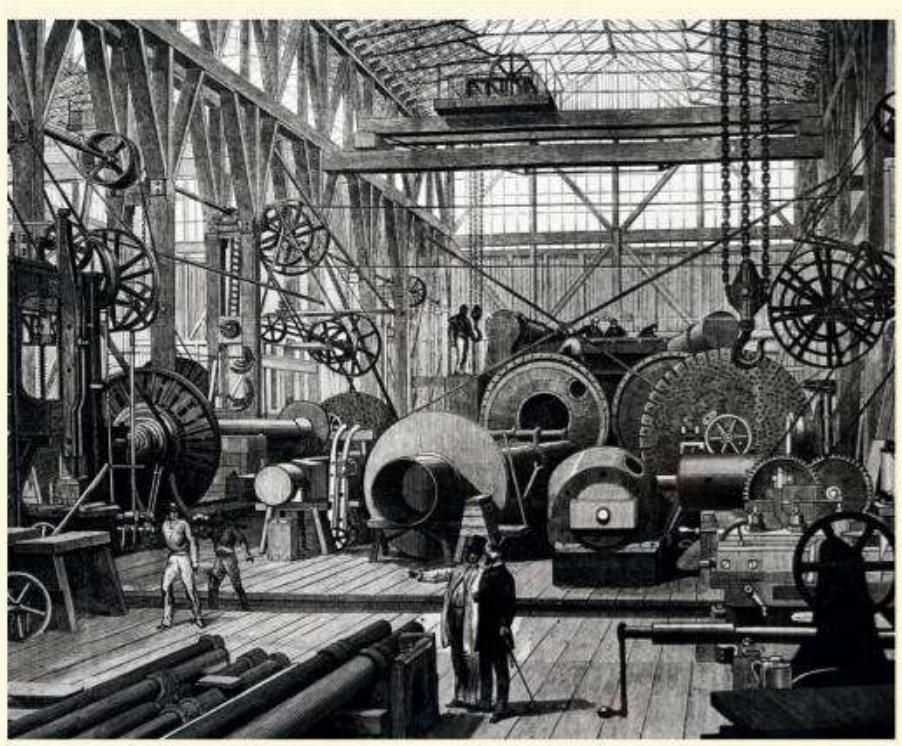
London was also a centre of innovation in transportation, from the development of large-scale passenger train and omnibus services to the famous London Underground, the construction of which Dickens commented upon in *Dombey and Son*. He describes the disruption brought as Camden Town and nearby areas were transformed by the building of Euston, King's Cross and St Pancras stations and their extensive marshalling yards and lines: "The first shock of a great earthquake had... rent the whole neighbourhood to its centre... Houses were knocked down; streets broken through and stopped... Everywhere were bridges that led nowhere... mounds of ashes blocked up rights of way, and wholly changed the law and custom of the neighbourhood... the yet unfinished and unopened Railroad was in progress, and, from the very core of all this dire disorder, trailed smoothly away, upon its mighty course of civilisation and improvement."

When MP Robert Lowe spoke at the lunch served at Farringdon station on 9 January 1863 to mark the opening of tube services, he also reflected on the advances that the new rail system brought to London. "The traffic of London has long been a reproach of the most civilised nation of the world, and the opprobrium of the age," he said. "Dr [Samuel] Johnson used to say that if you wanted to see the full tide of human life, you must go to Charing Cross, but Dr Johnson would have to raise his estimation of the full tide, or rather of the close jam of the full tide of human life, many hundred per cent before he could arrive at the state which the traffic of London has now reached... Through gas-pipes and water-pipes and sewers... and... the Fleet Ditch... The line has had

Dickens started his writing career as a journalist and published his first novel, *The Pickwick Papers,* in 1836

LEFT Dickens often wrote about the poor working conditions that many Londoners endured

BELOW The technological advances of the Industrial Revolution transformed London into the world's most powerful city



A VERY DICKENS CHRISTMAS

Some classic seasonal traditions introduced by the Victorians

Carols

Carolling had been around for quite a while, but the puritan era had seen the practice lose popularity. The Victorian period saw a revival, though, as musical entertainment became more common and publicly available. The first major collection of Christmas carols was published in 1833.

Cards

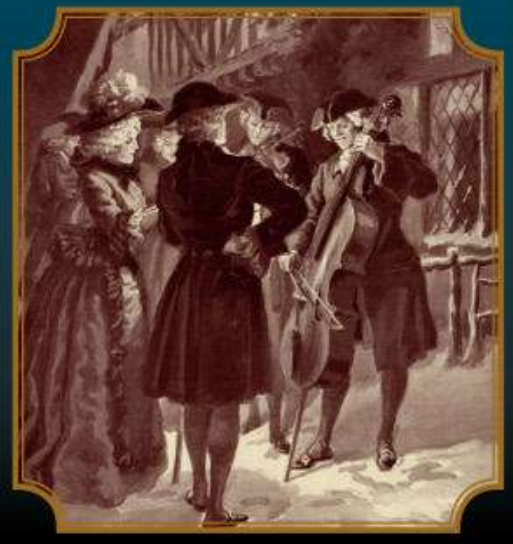
The first known Christmas card was illustrated by JC Horsley and commissioned by Sir Henry Cole, the first director of the Victorian & Albert Museum, in 1843. Costing one shilling, it was far too expensive for most families, but by 1880, thanks to cheaper production, it had become a massive industry.

Tree

Decorating a tree for Christmas was common in Germany and something Prince Albert brought with him to Britain as a tradition in Queen Victoria's household. The concept gained popularity when an image of the royal family decorating a tree appeared in *The Illustrated London News* in 1848.

Crackers

Inspired by the way sweets were wrapped in Paris, in 1848 confectioner Tom Smith brought the idea to Britain. A package was filled with sweets, wrapped in paper and would snap when pulled apart. The 'banger' was added in the 1860s and small gifts replaced sweets a little later.



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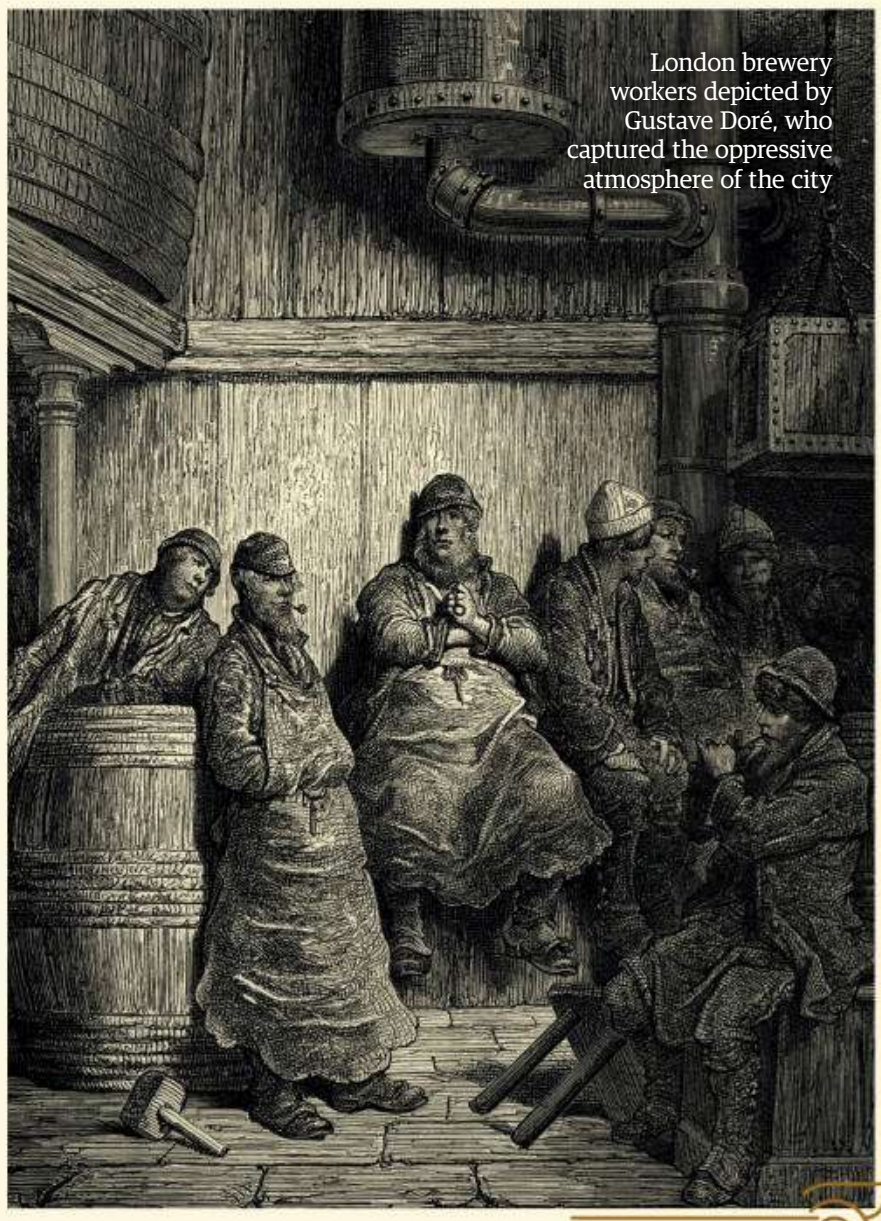
to worm its way through a complicated and intricate labyrinth under difficulties almost insuperable."

Steam power made the headlines, but London's market was already the cause and beneficiary of major improvements prior to that, both in shipping services and improvements those to the roads. The efficiency of road freight rose in particular with the cutting of journey times through night-time running, which became more significant in the early 19th century, a period that also saw road improvements that made such journeys far less perilous.

The docks, where new immigrants to the country arrived, were a dramatic demonstration of London's global sway, and one that became steadily more impressive during the century, with no other place in the world matching London's capability. It was also a major centre of employment as, more generally, was the commercial world. Thus, in the early 19th century, the largest warehouse labour force in London was that of the East India Company, with over 3,000 permanent labourers at its peak.

> "London in Dickens' lifetime was a centre of technological development"



London brewery workers depicted by Gustave Doré, who captured the oppressive atmosphere of the city

Work and poverty

As a whole, however, dock labour was casual, which increased the strains on income and life. Unskilled labour suffered in particular. Alongside the hardness captured in *Our Mutual Friend*, in which the river yields coal, wood, a basket used to shelter a baby, and bodies for scavengers, there was also perpetual tension over discipline and pilfering. Dockland was very different to Whitehall or the City as an area of London, but it was equally important. It was also more multicultural than any other part of London. It was in Shadwell that Dickens visited an opium den to gain material for the dramatic opening scene in *Edwin Drood*.

Dockland was also a centre for social unrest and confrontations between

KEY DICKENS LOCATIONS

Some of his most-mentioned locations in the capital

Holborn

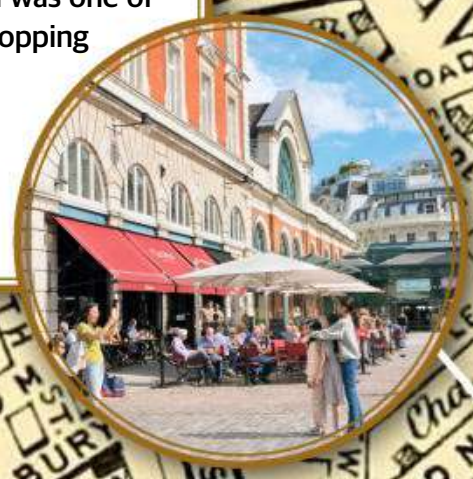
Featured in: 9 books

Many of Dickens' stories pass through Holborn in some manner, which makes sense since it was a region on the edge of the city centre, hosted newspaper offices and was where he lived for many years.

Covent Garden Market

Featured in: 9 books

In Dickens' time Covent Garden was one of the most vibrant and visited shopping areas of London and it remains a cultural hotspot of the city to this day. It was also a great mixing place for people of different social classes.



Old Bailey

Featured in: 9 books

Having worked as a court reporter from 1829 to 1833, Dickens would have been very familiar with the cases and procedures of the Central Criminal Court and Newgate Prison that sat on Old Bailey Street in central London.

The Strand

Featured in: 11 books

This was and remains one of the most iconic streets in London, stretching from Fleet Street (the hub of newspapers in London) to Charing Cross (the commercial centre of the city). It's a region Dickens would have frequented often.

Temple

Featured in: 9 books

The Temple was and continues to be the heart of the legal profession in London. It was a common location for Dickens to send his characters who were having legal difficulties or who worked as a barrister themselves.

Palace of Westminster

Featured in: 14 books

That this should be the location that appears most in Dickens' work is somewhat surprising, but then he spent a good amount of time in the Palace of Westminster when he was honing his craft as a journalist for *The Mirror of Parliament*.

Newgate Prison

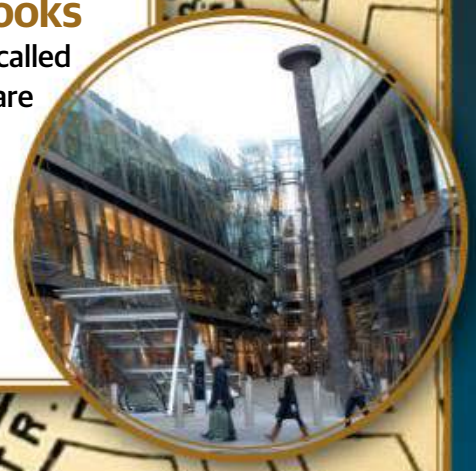
Featured in: 8 books

Newgate Prison was right next to the Old Bailey courts and was the location for public executions until 1868. Dickens visited the prison in 1836, describing it as the "gloomy depository of the guilt and misery of London".

Cheapside

Featured in: 8 books

What Dickens' own son called "the greatest thoroughfare in the City of London", Cheapside would have been a bustling market, which is how it got its name. These days it's a financial centre.



Bank of England

Featured in: 9 books

Dickens held several accounts at the Bank of England and would have visited the Consols Office of the building, which was featured in *The Pickwick Papers*. He also wrote a little about banknote forging for the journal *Household Words*.

St Paul's Cathedral

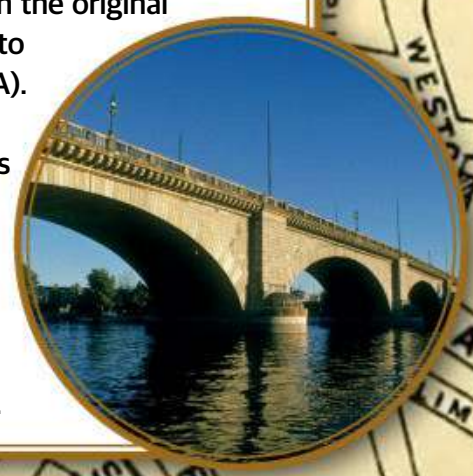
Featured in: 13 books

Visible from many parts of the city, St Paul's would have been a well-known sight to Dickens and any Londoner of the era. Its domination of the London skyline is reflected by how often the cathedral and its grounds featured in his work.

London Bridge

Featured in: 9 books

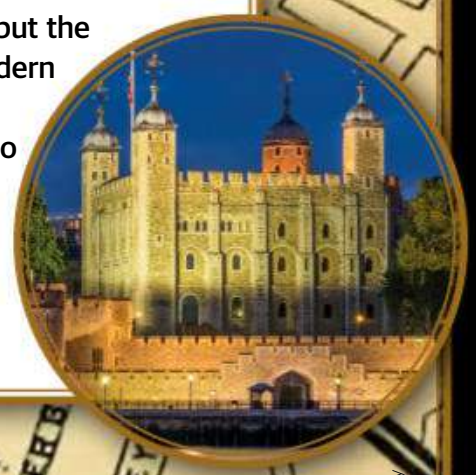
This bridge as Dickens would have known it was the John Rennie granite bridge (replaced in 1972 when the original was moved to Arizona, USA). Famously, Nancy meets Rose Maylie and Mr Brownlow here to try and save Oliver Twist.



Tower of London

Featured in: 9 books

The Tower is not only one of London's most famous and historic buildings, making it a common location in Dickens' books, but the author has a modern connection too. Three ravens who have lived in the Tower have been named after Dickens' pet raven, Grip.



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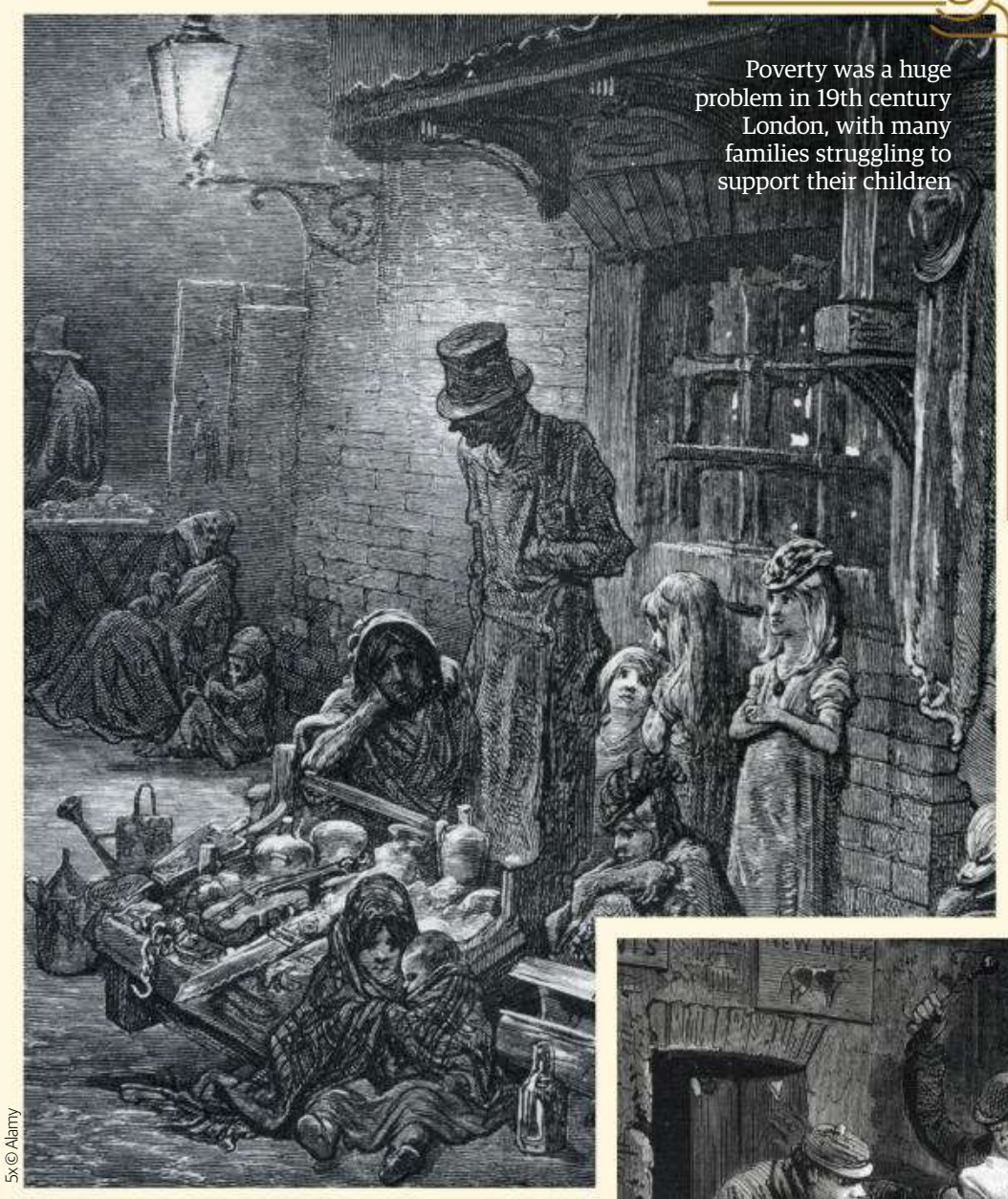

Poverty was a huge problem in 19th century London, with many families struggling to support their children

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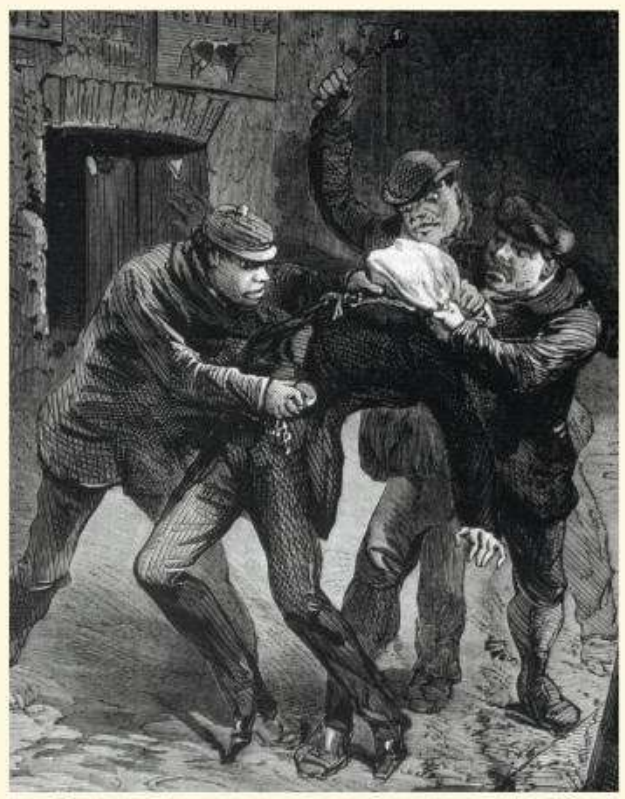


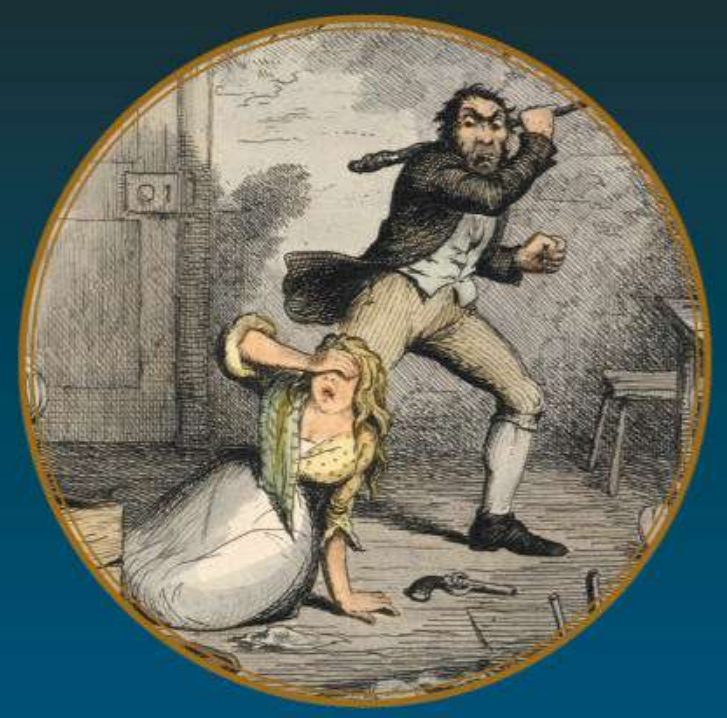
BELOW The capital was plagued by violent criminal gangs, a subject Dickens wrote about in novels such as *Oliver Twist*

labourers and the authorities. The aftermath of one such confrontation was reported by *Bell's Weekly Messenger* on 13 August 1853: "On Wednesday, Mr Yardley, the magistrate at the Thames Police-court, was engaged for several hours in the investigation of charges of assaulting, wounding, and using threatening language, preferred against dock labourers, connected with the late strike for an increase of wages. The persons charged were, with one exception, Irishmen; and some of the assaults proved to have been committed by them were of the most savage description."

London, however, wasn't simply the ravenous centre of imperial greatness. It was a place of enormous activity, one that was energised by the development of the docks and the creation of railways, while innovation was seen in all areas of life, including the design of prisons. It was also a place of terrible poverty, something that Dickens frequently reflected on in his works. The Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor noted of London in 1805: "Many of the inhabitants of the more crowded parts of the Metropolis suffer very severely under infectious fever... that in many parts the habitations of the poor are never free from the febrile infection; there being not only courts and alleys, but some public buildings, in which it has continued for upwards of 30 years past; - and that, by means of the constant and unavoidable communication which exists between the different classes of the inhabitants of the Metropolis, and between the Metropolis and other parts of the kingdom, this dreadful disease has frequently been communicated from the London poor to country places, and to some of the more opulent families in the Metropolis."

> "Dockland was also more multicultural than any other part of London"

A year later, in *A New and Appropriate System of Education for the Labouring Poor*, Patrick Colquhoun wrote of "the parents [of Westminster]... many of them are ignorant, and extremely ill educated,



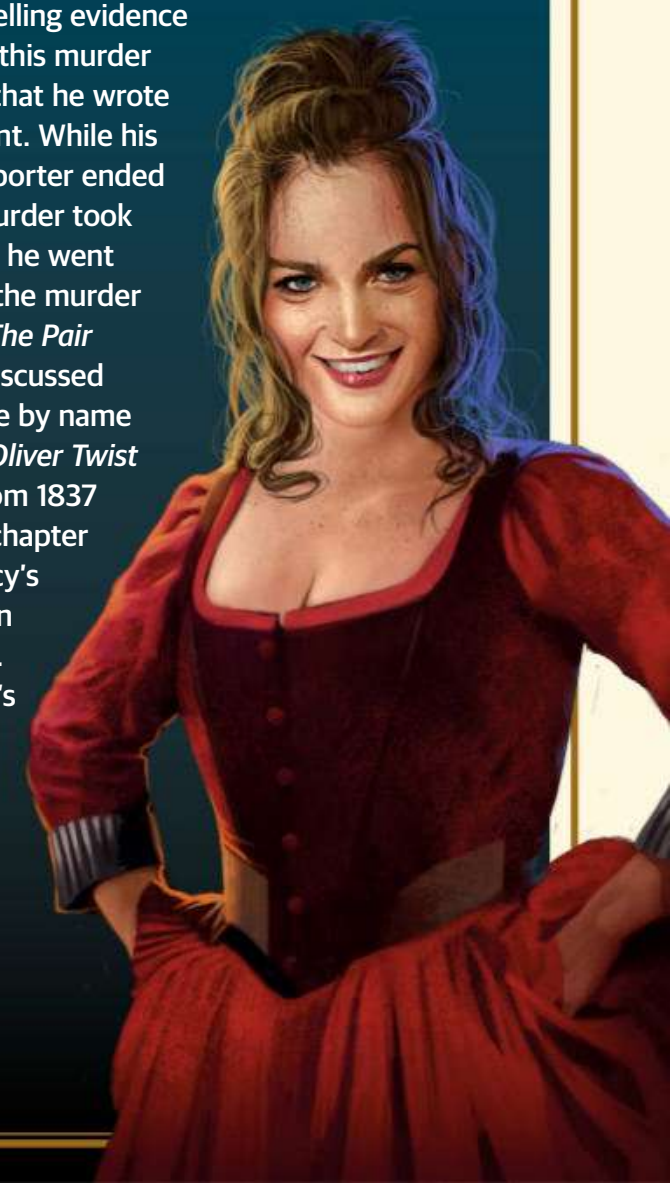
THE REAL-LIFE DEATH OF NANCY

Did a gruesome London murder inspire Dickens?

In what is possibly the most graphic and disturbing scene in any Charles Dickens book, the author described the brutal murder of Nancy by Bill Sikes in *Oliver Twist*. It's an event so dark than many adaptations of the book have tended to avoid portraying it in any detail. It's been questioned just why this scene is so violent in the context of the wider story, but author Rebecca Gowers pointed to a potential link when she wrote her novel, *The Twisted Heart*, which was inspired by real events.

Gowers pointed to a real murder of a London sex worker named Eliza Grimwood in 1838. While some of the details of the murder differ, many of them are remarkably similar to Sikes' methods. Grimwood was in bed when she was attacked, she was forced to her knees and after being killed the murderer continued to attack the body. In the real case Grimwood was stabbed, while Nancy was clubbed.

The most compelling evidence that Dickens used this murder as his template is that he wrote about the real event. While his days as a crime reporter ended in 1836 and the murder took place in May 1838, he went on to write about the murder in his short story *The Pair of Gloves*, which discussed the Grimwood case by name many years later. *Oliver Twist* was syndicated from 1837 onwards, but the chapter that included Nancy's death was not seen until January 1839. It seems like there's a good chance the death of Eliza Grimwood was an inspiration to Dickens for his most harrowing scene.



while not a few are... immoral and profligate... [for London and its environs:] at least 50,000 children are reared, and rearing up, every year, in the grossest ignorance and profligacy... the morals of the inferior classes of society, particularly in the metropolis, are rapidly declining."

Blood in the streets

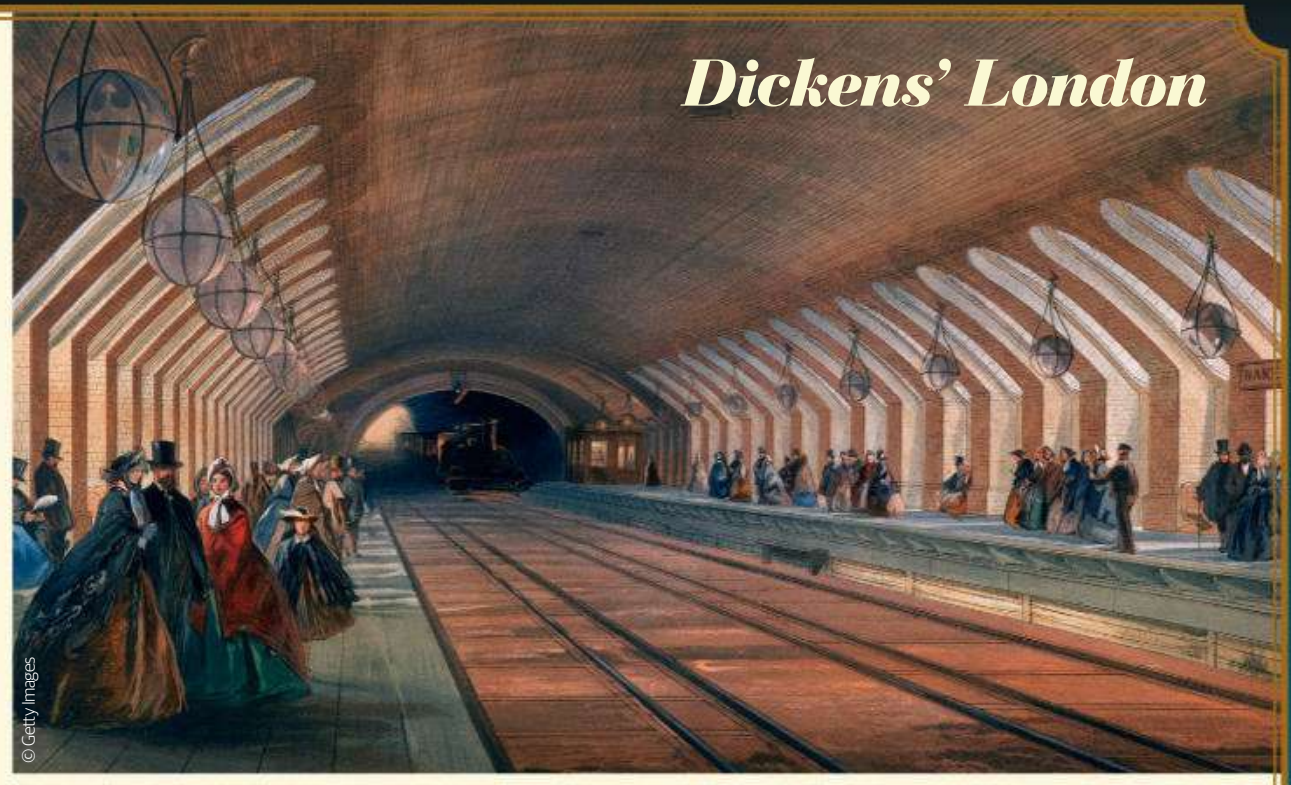
The serial killings in Whitechapel in 1888 by 'Jack the Ripper' were the most dramatic example of a more general concern about London as a troubled world of misery and disorder – the flip side of its imperial greatness. This concern was frequently voiced in the press and overlapped with explicitly fictional accounts of the city, from Dickens to Doyle, most of which contributed to the same impression of London as a city of great deprivation as well as one of excess and luxury.

The impact of press reporting is seen in *Martin Chuzzlewit* when Tom Pinch arrives in London from Salisbury: "He was particularly anxious, among other notorious localities, to have those streets pointed out to him which were appropriated to the slaughter of countrymen; and was quite disappointed to find, after half-an-hour's walking, that he hadn't had his pocket picked. But on John Westlock's inventing a pickpocket for his gratification, and pointing out a highly respectable stranger as one of that fraternity, he was much delighted." In *Great Expectations*, Mr Wopsle, "imbrued in blood to the eyebrows," reads the newspaper aloud at the pub, delighting in the gory details of a recent murder.

In effect, London became the subject of social exploration, such as by Henry Mayhew in his series of articles about the slums published in the *Morning Chronicle* in 1849 and then in his collection *London Labour and the London Poor*. There were also visual accounts, notably by Gustave Doré, whose illustrations brilliantly captured the cramped and cluttered streets of London. The 'Jack the Ripper' killings were an apparent culmination of a menace already seen in other episodes, such as the garrotting scare of 1862. The resulting sense of menace was mocked in the satirical magazine *Punch*'s cartoon *Going Out To Tea In The Suburbs. A Pretty State of Things for 1862*, which showed three wealthy young ladies escorted by six armed men.

Criminal class

There are obvious problems with the sources, not least the extent to which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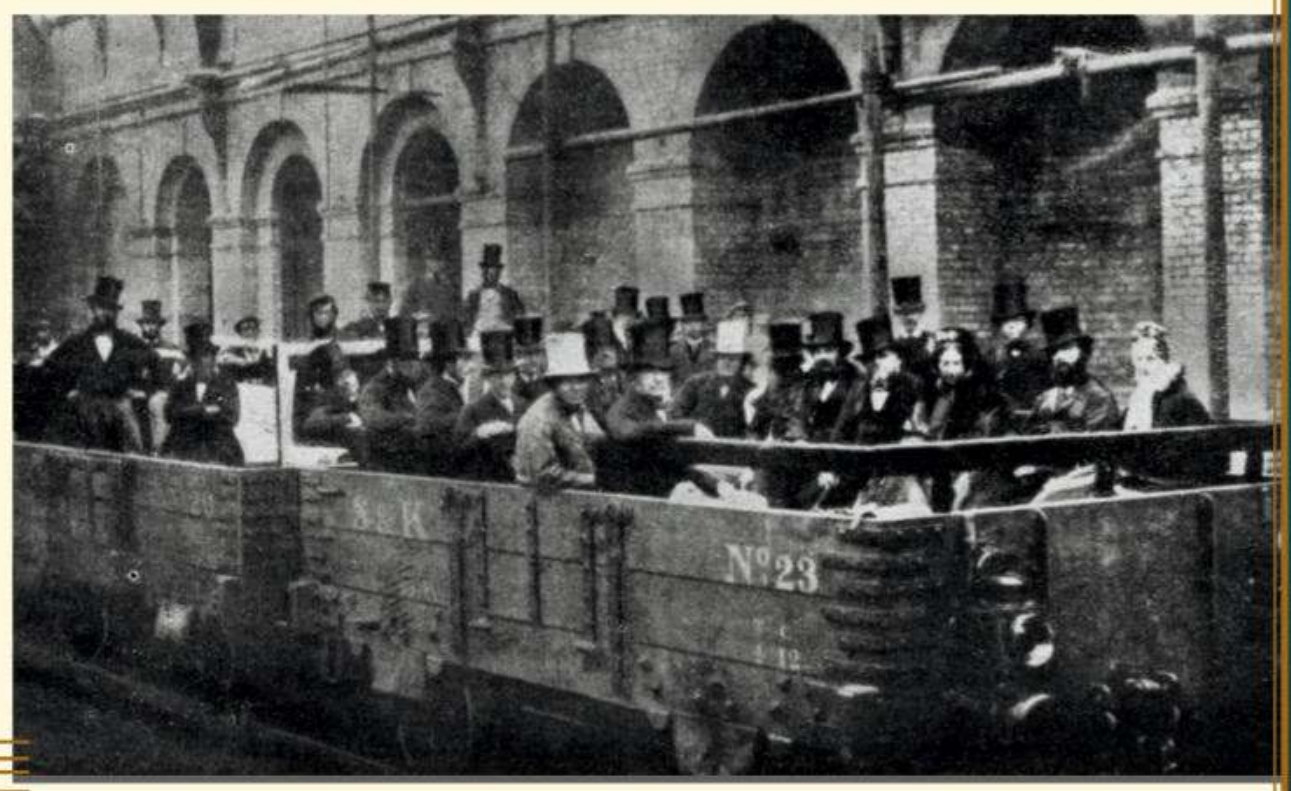
RIGHT The development of the London Underground transformed how people moved around the city



RIGHT William Gladstone opens the Metropolitan Railway in London in 1863, the beginning of the London Underground

BELOW The very poorest in society often ended up in a workhouse, where they were given employment and a place to live

they depicted middle-class perceptions of London life – something that Dickens could be accused of – and often in a moralised fashion. Moreover, the argument that there was a criminal class quite separate from the working poor has been queried by those who suggest that much crime was a matter of necessity by the latter. Indeed, the *Courier* newspaper noted on 12 October 1832: "Poverty, misery, and crime, are near-a-kin. When will the sense of mankind be turned to prevent rather than to punish the crimes to which the most culpable neglect drives unwilling but despairing offenders?"

Yet this approach could be taken too far, as there was not only criminality but organised criminal groups. Violence, theft, abuse and alcoholism were all major problems, while, alongside criminal networks, there was the often violent chaos of the street. This was a vision of London life that Dickens dipped into frequently, such as at the end of *Oliver Twist*, when the villainous Bill Sikes takes refuge in a rookery (a colloquial term for a slum).

As the financial centre of the world, London offered Dickens the chance to write about fraud too, a crime of the rich and powerful. It was a prominent theme in a number of his works, notably with Merdle in *Little Dorrit* and Carker in *Dombey and Son*, but also with an insurance fraud of the 1830s, which is the point of reference in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Godfrey Nickleby considers insuring his life before committing suicide; while, in *Great Expectations*, Herbert Pocket wants to "buy up some good Life Assurance shares, and cut into the Direction".

London smog

Crime, which in the case of the rich also included construction of cheap buildings with inferior materials for a quick profit, was not the sole blight on society: infectious disease was another. Sanitation fed back into the very dynamics of population growth, not least because of exposure to disease from elsewhere in the world as London became a hub of international travel. Other major problems included the lack of clean water, as well as air pollution, notably in forms of smoke and fog, forming the smog with which London was often associated. The water question was in part one of sewage, with the filthy River Fleet known as the Black River of North London. The problem of polluted water was tackled head on as it was known to cause many diseases, but the

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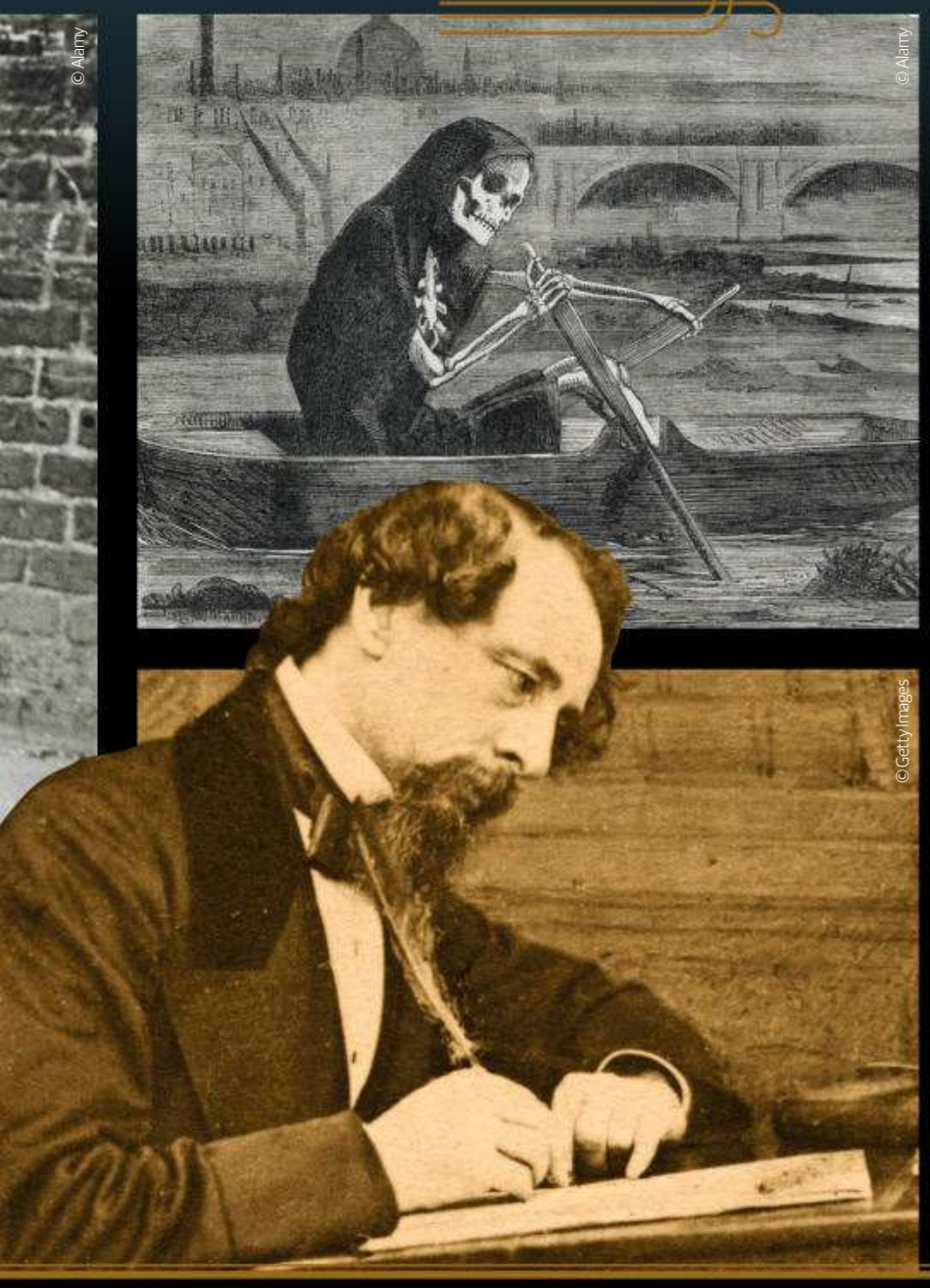
LEFT A classic scene of a busy London street with St Paul's Cathedral dominating the skyline

BELOW-LEFT A photo of poor young children on the streets of London taken in the late 1800s

BELOW The polluted River Thames depicted as the highway of death

BOTTOM Dickens' novels frequently blended his stories with a fierce social conscience



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smog was not really addressed until the mid-20th century.

In 1888 Henry James, the American novelist who settled in the city in 1869, praised the "magnificent mystifications" of London's fog: it "flatters and superfuses, makes everything brown, rich, dim, vague, magnifies distances and minimizes details, confirms the inference of vastness by suggesting that, as the great city makes everything, it makes its own optical laws." The 1880s saw the most acute smogs, but the growth in population and fuel consumption had led to air pollution becoming steadily worse from early in the century; in 1853 the Smoke Nuisance Abatement Act was aimed at a phenomenon vividly described that year in Dickens' novel *Bleak House*. Inspection and enforcement made regulation difficult, but in any case legislation excluded the households where inefficient coal-fed open fires were a big cause of the smog. Londoners much preferred the term fog and saw it as part of the identity of the city. Brilliantly captured by painters such as the Frenchman Claude Monet, fog also provided opportunities for crime, caused accidents, and helped prostitutes by providing cover from the police and making it easier for cautious clients to make an approach.

Respiratory deaths in the winter reflected the impact of air pollution from coal fires, and diarrheal infant mortality in the summer was an aspect of the continuing problems with clean water, while poverty and overcrowding both remained serious problems. Dickens powerfully captures the terrible situation in *Dombey and Son*, in which he urges: "follow the good clergyman or doctor, who, with his life imperilled at every breath he draws, goes down into their dens, lying within the echoes of our carriage wheels and daily tread upon the pavement-stones. Look round upon the world of odious sights – millions of immortal creatures have no other world on earth... Breathe the polluted air, foul with every impurity that is poisonous to health and life; and have every sense, conferred upon our race for its delight and happiness, offended, sickened and disgusted, and made a channel by which misery and death alone can enter."

The heatwave of 1858 triggered the already noxious Thames, filled with sewage and animal carcasses, into an even more over-ripe state that came to be called the Great Stink. This led to the temporary abandonment of Parliament and to a major programme of sewerage works. In 2021, marine archaeologists found a compacted layer of Victorian waste in the Thames near Tate Modern that came from this era. The anaerobic environment of sewage baked at the riverside in hot dry weather had preserved the smell. A member of the Institute for Digital Archaeology referred to "a very distinctive odour of putrefaction, human waste and sulphur... it's like a body blow when you smell it. It just stops you in your tracks." The mud included the remains of leather shoes, pottery and clay pipes.

A city of change

Downstream, the Victoria Embankment was built in 1862-70 as part of the transformation associated with celebrated civil engineer Joseph Bazalgette, one that removed the broad tidal range as well as creating new road links along the river shores. On the opposite bank, the Battersea Marshes had been drained with the encouragement of Prince Albert, and in accordance with legislation of 1846. Battersea Park opened in 1858, the same year as Chelsea Bridge, greatly improving a once marginal area.

> "Respiratory deaths in the winter reflected the impact of air pollution from coal fires"

Poor relief served to link concerns about wages and cost, and notably so in periods of economic crisis. By the end of the century, London provided places for nearly a quarter of those on indoor relief (workhouses) in England and Wales. Dickens repeatedly captured the city's misery, the severe stresses and strains that economic anxiety placed on working families, a grim existence that drove some to take their own lives. London in the time of Dickens was a city that never stood still and, as he often portrayed in his books, if you didn't have enough wealth to duck out of the way you were likely to be trampled by the unstoppable march of progress.

Ibn Sina

The Man Who Knew Everything

Philosopher, mathematician, doctor, astronomer, poet: Ibn Sina was all of these things and more, the last man to master all the fields of human knowledge

Written by Edoardo Albert

In his final week, Ibn Sina said: "I prefer a short life with width to a narrow one with length." The Persian polymath died aged 57 but during those years he was a doctor, philosopher, mathematician, grammarian, astronomer, politician, poet and traveller. Ibn Sina lived a tumultuous life full of intrigues, daring escapes, great power and dramatic falls – all the time working on the deepest problems of philosophy while still engaging in a notorious social life and indulging a voracious sexual appetite. Lying on his death bed, Ibn Sina could look back and see that he had lived life on his own terms.

He was born in August 980 in a village near Bukhara, Central Asia, to an important local family and spent his childhood and youth in the city. Bukhara was a major staging post on the Silk Road and a graceful and prosperous city that attracted peddlers of knowledge as well as sellers of wares.

The young Ibn Sina was intellectually precocious and his father employed the best tutor he could find to educate his son. But Ibn Sina soon outstripped his tutor. Never one to undersell himself, he remarks in his autobiography that he soon began to teach his teacher.

At the end of the first millennium there was considerable ferment in the Islamic world and Ibn Sina's father and brother became known as Ismailis, followers of an Islamic sect that drew bitter repression from orthodox Sunni Muslims. Although Ibn Sina remained reticent about his own religious beliefs, his family association would greatly affect his later life.

By his mid-teens, he had mastered jurisprudence, the key scholarly field that allowed an Islamic intellectual freedom of movement around the Islamic world, but he decided to add another string to his intellectual arsenal when he was 16: he would become a doctor. It did not take long. He declared:

© Getty Images

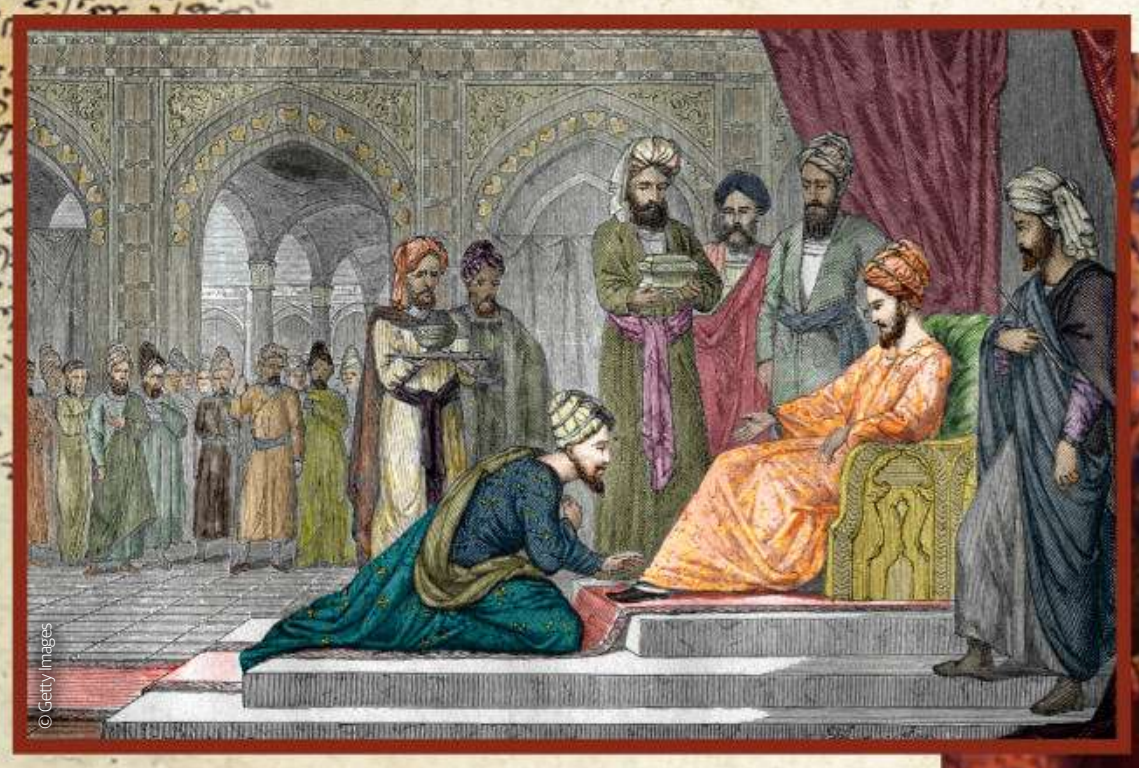
"Medicine is not a difficult science, and naturally I excelled in it in a very short time, so that qualified physicians began to read medicine with me."

Never short of confidence, the young prodigy was called in to help with the care of the amir of Bukhara and promptly cured him when the amir's own, much more experienced doctors, were unable to. The grateful amir offered Ibn Sina gold and jewels but the young man chose instead to have unrestricted access to the amir's personal library, which was said to contain as many volumes as the great library of Baghdad. Ibn Sina buried himself in learning, mastering everything he read and committing it to memory. Books were valuable and rare, but his prodigious memory allowed him to carry the knowledge he found in books with him wherever he wandered. And he soon had to leave Bukhara.

The amir died and warlords began to squabble over Bukhara. In such a volatile situation, Ibn Sina took to the road. He first travelled to Gurganj (Konye-Urgench in modern-day Turkmenistan), where he spent ten years and entered into a long and increasingly irritable correspondence with another polymath of the Islamic world, Al-Biruni. When Al-Biruni persisted in not agreeing with him, Ibn Sina delegated the job of answering Al-Biruni's objections to one of his students.

Ibn Sina would probably have remained in Gurganj if not for the man whose shadow would loom over the rest of his life. The warlord who had emerged as the dominant power in central Asia, Mahmud of Ghazna, was set on forging a new Ghaznavid empire and to bolster his legitimacy and burnish his regime he was keen to bring to his court the most brilliant Islamic scholars. But Mahmud was resolutely Sunni and fiercely intolerant of unorthodoxy. Life in his court would be intolerable for a man like Ibn Sina, who acknowledged no primacy over intellectual inquiry and whose social life tended to the unorthodox – he loved the company of musicians and poets, and used wine to help unlock difficult intellectual problems. Learning of Ibn Sina's reputation, Mahmud of Ghazna 'requested' the amir of Gurganj send this brilliant, and by all accounts extraordinarily handsome, scholar to adorn his court in Ghazna.

The amir of Gurganj could not ignore Mahmud's request but he did warn Ibn Sina, giving him the option to escape before Mahmud's soldiers arrived to escort him to Ghazna. In 1012,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TOP Ibn Sina arriving in Isfahan at the court of Ala al-Dawla

ABOVE Ibn Sina's old mausoleum in Hamadan, Iran. It was replaced by a modern building in the 20th century

RIGHT While he was fluent in many different languages, Ibn Sina was happiest in the Persian milieu

Ibn Sina fled Gurganj, accompanied by another refugee from Mahmud, a Christian artist named Abu Sahl. Hearing that Ibn Sina had absconded, Mahmud ordered a portrait to be drawn of Ibn Sina which was then copied and distributed throughout his realm. Ibn Sina and Abu Sahl were hunted men. Caught in the open by a sandstorm, they could do nothing but shelter under their cloaks. When the storm passed, Abu Sahl was dead.

The ailing Ibn Sina made it to Jurjanj (Gurgan in today's Iran) where he met a young man, Al-Juzjani, who would become his companion, biographer and all-round champion. Ibn Sina cured the amir of the nearby city, Ray, of his melancholy, and the amir of Hamadan, Shams al-Dawla, of a bowel disease. In gratitude Shams al-Dawla made Ibn Sina his vizier – his prime minister. Ibn Sina lived from 1015 to 1024 in and around Hamadan, his duties as vizier occasioning frequent travel. He made use of the travel time by dictating his latest work to his amanuensis, Al-Juzjani, as they rode. *The Canon of Medicine*, which would be the primary textbook for doctors for 500 years, was largely composed while riding from one town to the next, its contents drawn directly from Ibn Sina's prodigious memory.

ABOVE Ibn Sina (or Avicenna as his name was rendered into Latin) remains a significant figure in history, commemorated in stamps by many countries

Ibn Sina buried himself in learning, mastering everything he read and committing it to memory

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In 1021, Ibn Sina's patron and protector, Shams al-Dawla, passed away and his son, Sama al-Dawla, became amir. The new ruler asked Ibn Sina to stay on as vizier but he was wary of Sama's intentions and secretly wrote to the ruler of Isfahan, Ala al-Dawla, offering him his services. Unfortunately for Ibn Sina, his correspondence with a rival ruler leaked to Sama and the enraged amir promptly imprisoned his vizier while Ala and Sama settled their differences on the battlefield. Defeated, Sama took refuge in the same castle where he had imprisoned Ibn Sina. The victorious Ala al-Dawla withdrew to Isfahan and Sama al-Dawla cautiously emerged from his bolthole, taking Ibn Sina with him and offering him all sorts of blandishments to become his vizier once again. But Ibn Sina had made up his mind. In the last of the daring escapes that marked his life, he fled Hamadan disguised as a Sufi with the faithful Al-Juzjani, his brother Mahmud and two slaves accompanying him.

The group of escapees made it to Isfahan, where Ala al-Dawla greeted Ibn Sina with genuine delight. It was a meeting of minds and Ibn Sina spent the rest of his life in the company and service of the amir of Isfahan. At the previous courts where Ibn Sina had found employment, there was always the sense that the great scholar was looking after himself and that if the going for his patron got tough he would head for the exit. But this was not the case with Ala al-Dawla. Ibn Sina served him faithfully through all the amir's vicissitudes. For five years in Isfahan, Ibn Sina had intellectual freedom and the support of an amir personally interested in the pursuit of knowledge. But then, in 1029, his old nemesis, Mahmud of Ghazna, moved against Isfahan, sending his son, Masud, to conquer the city. Ibn Sina fled with Ala al-Dawla and Masud took Isfahan, only for the news to reach him of his father's death. Masud promptly rushed back to Ghazna to claim the throne from his brothers, killing those who got in the way, and Ala al-Dawla took the chance to reclaim his city. But having removed his fraternal rivals, Masud marched on Isfahan again. Over the next few years, Masud repeatedly conquered Isfahan and Ala al-Dawla repeatedly took it back when Masud had to deal with other problems in his sprawling kingdom.

It was during one of the final withdrawals from Isfahan, with Masud's army rapidly approaching, that Ibn Sina fell ill. If he was to avoid capture, Ibn Sina knew he had to get himself fit enough to travel. But he overprescribed, causing a suppurating wound that was exacerbated by Ibn Sina's insistence on continuing regular sexual intercourse with his concubines. Thus weakened, the greatest doctor of the age died during Ramadan in 1037. Lucid to the end, Ibn Sina realised his death was near, telling Al-Juzjani: "The governor that used to rule my body is too weak to rule any longer. Treatment is of no further use."

TORA! TORA! TORA!

THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR

On 7 December 1941, fire rained from the skies above Pearl Harbor as one of the most devastating attacks of World War II took place

Written by Callum McKelvie

Interviews by Mike Haskew

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At 7.55am on 7 December 1941, a first wave of 183 Japanese aircraft attacked the US Naval base Pearl Harbor at Oahu, Hawaii. A second wave of 170 Japanese planes followed an hour-and-a-half later, and in total 2,403 American service personnel were killed, with 18 warships and 188 aircraft either destroyed or damaged. The attack would not only lead to the US entering World War II but also leave an indelible mark upon its population, creating a national trauma that remains to this day.

On 1 September 1939 Adolf Hitler had invaded Poland, following his invasion of Czechoslovakia in March. Two days later, British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain declared war on Nazi Germany and her allies, and the ensuing six-year conflict altered the course of history and left almost no corner of the globe untouched. But for two years America avoided any direct involvement in the war, and it would be only Pearl Harbor that would push them into the fray. Still reeling from the devastating effects of World War I, the US had a strong isolationist policy that mandated they should have no involvement in the affairs of other nations. For many Americans, another war in Europe was to be avoided at all costs.

However, across the Pacific, Japan had aligned itself with the Axis powers of Germany and Italy. In September 1940 they had invaded French Indochina and in July of the following year advanced into the southern part of the region, threatening European and, crucially, US possessions in the area. This built on a history of difficulties with the US following Japan's attack on China in 1931 and the Second Sino-Japanese war that began in 1937. That same year, Japanese forces had sunk the USS Panay on the Yangtze River. Despite a formal apology and the payment of reparations, tensions continued to rise. Following the 1940 attacks on Indochina, the US retaliated by placing an embargo on trade with Japan, which had a devastating effect on the supply of key resources such as iron and petrol.

"Japanese oil reserves meant that action had to be taken before the Imperial Navy was crippled through lack of fuel," says Mark E Stille, a retired US Navy commander and author of 12 books on the Pacific War. "The real issue is that the Japanese chose to double-down on aggression after being called to account for their expansionist policies since 1937. To do this, they decided to go to war with the world's largest empire and the world's most powerful nation, all while being tied down in a huge war with the Chinese."

David Kilton, Chief of Interpretation at the Pearl Harbor National Museum explains: "The economic strains of the embargoes came to a head, and the Japanese could either have conflict while they were expanding in other areas or strike first. They decided to strike first,"

The decision was taken to launch an attack directly against the US military, and Pearl Harbor was selected as the target because it was relatively remote and vulnerable. The Japanese intention, it seems, was not to start a war with the US but instead to inflict a blow so devastating that the US would be forced to negotiate. Stille explains: "There is only one reason why the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor: because [commander in chief of Japan's Combined Fleet] Yamamoto Isoroku thought it would be a good idea. Without Isoroku's vision and determination to pull off the attack, it would never have occurred. Apparently, he actually believed that the loss of several battleships would shock the Americans into making peace."

Isoroku had graduated from the Japanese Naval Academy in 1904. In 1919 he was sent to study at Harvard in the United States and during his career would spend much time in the country, gaining an excellent knowledge of its industry. Later, he worked in naval aviation and it was this expertise that led him to be one of the key military strategists behind the Pearl Harbor attack. The operation was to centre around the use of aircraft carriers, something that Isoroku was convinced would deliver complete success despite his deep misgivings about going to war with

"At 07:53 on the morning of 7 December, the signal 'Tora! Tora! Tora!' was sent by the strike leader"

Image source: wiki/Papers of Takagi Kiyohisa, #118

(FROM LEFT TO RIGHT) The USS West Virginia, the USS Tennessee and the USS Arizona in flames during the attack
© Getty Images

America. He would later remark: "If I am told to fight regardless of the consequences I shall run wild for the first six months or a year, but I have utterly no confidence for the second or third year."

Isoroku's plan was reliant on complete surprise. Initially, his intention was to destroy the US Navy's battleships in the harbour as opposed to focussing on its carriers. This is most likely due to his belief that the attack could be a largely symbolic event, used to bring the Americans to the negotiating table. Upon discovering that the water at Pearl Harbor was too shallow for the torpedoes necessary to destroy the battleships, whereas aircraft could attack the carriers, Isoroku nearly called off the entire mission. Stille, in his book *Yamamoto Isoroku*, states that this decision calls into question "Yamamoto's credentials as a strategic planner as well as his status as a true air power advocate." The final plan, completed with assistance from Commander Genda Minoru, was broken down into two waves ▶

BELOW-LEFT
Marshall Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku, who orchestrated the Pearl Harbor attack

BELOW-RIGHT
Minoru Genda, who helped plan the Pearl Harbor attack

Image source: wiki/ Navy Historical Foundation

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AMERICA UNDER ATTACK

In addition to Pearl Harbor, Japanese aircraft struck several other American installations on 7 December 1941

Although the most recognised and remembered Japanese target on 7 December 1941 was the US Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor, the Japanese wreaked havoc at several other installations as well.

Facilities and personnel of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Army came under fire on that dreadful morning as the Japanese hit Hickam Field, Wheeler Field, Bellows Field, Ewa Marine Corps Air Station, and the naval air stations at Kaneohe and Ford Island in the center of Pearl Harbor. The Japanese also struck American installations in the Philippines, Wake Island and Midway Atoll, and the British in Malaya during the hours following the Pearl Harbor operation.

Bombers and fighters from the Japanese aircraft carriers screamed down on vulnerable targets across Oahu. American aircraft had been parked wingtip to wingtip to guard against potential sabotage rather than dispersed in protective concrete or earthen revetments, and they made easy targets. Hickam Field and Ford Island came under attack just before 8am.

As the first bombs fell on Ford Island Naval Air Station, Lieutenant Commander Logan Ramsey, the operations officer of Patrol Wing Two, ordered the radio room to send the plain language message: "Air Raid Pearl Harbor. This Is No Drill." One hangar took five bomb hits, and others were damaged. At Hickam Field, 35 men were killed while they were eating breakfast when a Japanese bomb smashed the mess hall. More than 20 others were killed as they readied bombers for training flights, and a large barracks was utterly destroyed. At Wheeler Field, where most of the island's fighter strength was stationed, Japanese dive bombers and fighters destroyed most of the 140 aircraft parked in neat rows.

36 Consolidated PBY Catalina seaplanes at Kaneohe were shredded by a dozen Japanese fighters in an attack that lasted only eight minutes. Just three planes at Kaneohe escaped damage from the two attack waves.

Bellows Field was strafed by a single Japanese fighter at about 08:30, following a warning by one enlisted man that Kaneohe had been "blown to hell!" 29 of the 48 planes stationed at Ewa Marine Corps Air Station were destroyed by a flight of 21 fighters that strafed completely unchallenged for more than 20 minutes.

Before the dreadful day was done, 165 American aircraft had been destroyed, with only a few of them after getting into the air.

and placed greater emphasis on sinking the aircraft carriers than in previous plans. The first wave involved 16 torpedo planes targeting two carriers and a further 24 attacking six battleships, which were vulnerable to strikes from torpedoes. Additionally, 50 bombers carried specially modified loads and were to target Pearl Harbor's 'Battleship Row' where most of the large ships were moored. The second wave was to involve 81 dive bombers attacking any carriers present – essentially finishing the job started by the more heavily armed first wave. At 07:53 on the morning of 7 December, the signal "Tora! Tora! Tora!" was sent by the strike leader and the surprise attack was launched.

At 07.55 the USS Conyngham reported that it was under attack from Japanese planes, and by 08.08 the ship was returning fire. The USS California was nearly completely destroyed and its crew forced to abandon ship when burning fuel on the surface of the water threatened to engulf the vessel. The California signalled: "0750 Japanese planes without warning attacked units of the United States Fleet and US Naval Air Station, Ford Island. Sounded General Quarters and manned Battle Stations." The resultant situation was one of chaos as the crew scrambled to respond to the completely unexpected attack. The surviving ships' logs demonstrate this confusion as they reference non-existent enemies and are littered with false reports. In one case the USS Maryland noted that there were "parachute troops reported landing at Barbers Point and enemy tankers reported four (4) miles off Wainae," and described them as wearing blue overalls with red symbols. No such groups existed.

Throughout the attack there were many stories of bravery as American sailors fought back against the Japanese. One of the most striking acts of heroism was that carried out by Doris 'Dorie' Miller, mess attendant on the USS West Virginia. At this time, like so much of American society, the US Navy enforced discriminatory policies towards its Black servicemen: they were not eligible for promotion and were usually assigned to lesser duties. As a final indignity they were not even permitted to wear the Navy's anchor and chain button insignia. Although Miller was not combat trained, he was the ship's boxing champion and thanks to his superb physical fitness was able to pull survivors from the water. Miller helped drag the wounded Captain Bennion to safety along with many other sailors. Most famously, he took command of a large Browning anti-aircraft machine gun, despite having no training in how to use the weapon. "It wasn't hard," he later commented. "I just pulled the trigger and she worked fine. I had watched the others with these guns. I guess I fired her for about 15 minutes. I think I got one of those planes. They were diving pretty close to us."

Following this he pulled further sailors from the water, which had become an oily inferno, before swimming 270m to the shore and safety. A year later Miller was awarded the Navy Cross – amid increasing pressure on the US Navy to rethink its treatment of Black servicemen.

In total, the Pearl Harbor attack lasted nearly two hours, and although the Japanese failure to destroy repair facilities

OPPOSITE Doris Miller, the third class messman who was noted for his bravery during the attack

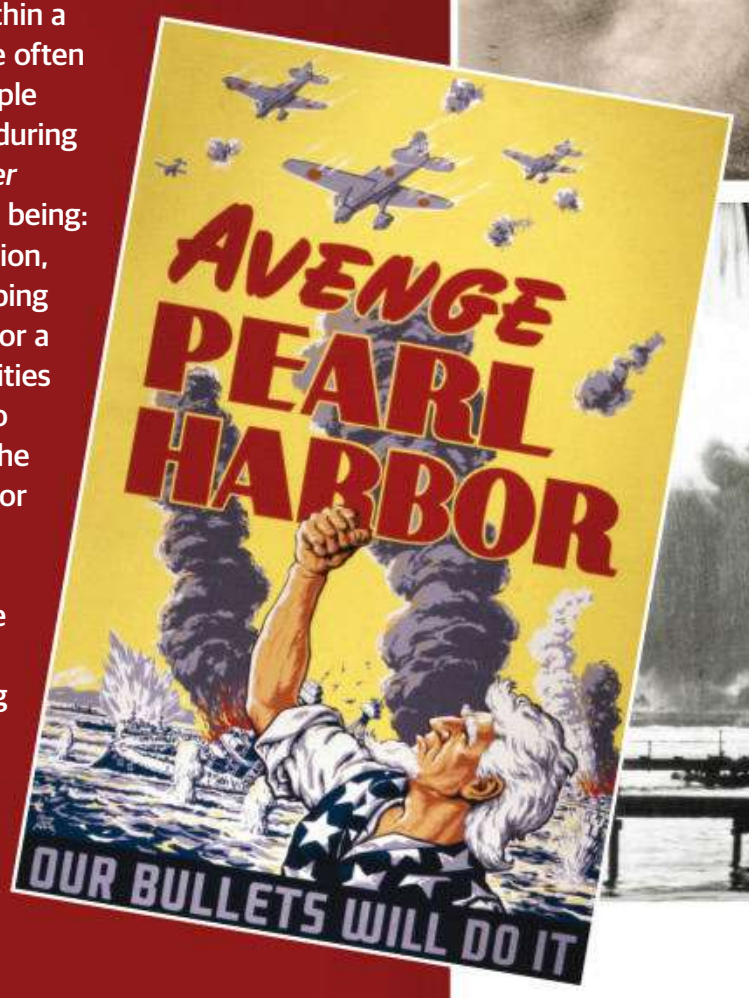
BELOW An image from a Japanese plane during the attack on Pearl Harbor

BOTTOM One of the bombs dropped by Japanese planes detonates during the attack

AVENGE PEARL HARBOR!

Throughout the USA's war with Japan, Pearl Harbor was used in patriotic propaganda

During periods of war, particular moments of aggression that strike deep within a nation's shared consciousness are often utilised in propaganda - for example the sinking of the RMS Lusitania during World War I. The *Merriam-Webster* dictionary defines propaganda as being: "The spreading of ideas, information, or rumour for the purpose of helping or injuring an institution, a cause or a person." As such, particular atrocities are often used as a shared idea to stoke anger against the enemy. The 7 December attack on Pearl Harbor was no different and was used in a number of posters by the US government, such as the example shown here. Pearl Harbor was used on posters about everything from war bonds, to recruitment, to simple vengeance. Doris Miller was even used on posters as an inspirational example of bravery.



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and fuel oil tanks mitigated the damage, the attack was still devastating.

One question surrounding the attack on Pearl Harbor, which still causes dispute to this day, was how could it have been allowed to happen? After all, despite not having direct combat involvement at this stage of the war, programs such as Lend-Lease meant that the United States had been supplying the Allied forces with significant numbers of military supplies since September 1940. Surely then, American intelligence should have been expecting some sort of retaliation from the Japanese?

"My answer is that they should have been expecting it," says Kilton. "They had received multiple tips, including from one of the ambassadors of another country who gave the US information that they had heard about the attack coming. The US was not paying attention to some of the clues that were there. They didn't cue into any of them. They were more concerned about sabotage or a naval strike out at sea. They didn't think it was quite as likely that it would happen at Pearl Harbor. The US, its ambassadors and the president kind of knew things were not going well on the diplomatic front, and I think they knew we were headed toward war, but there was a bit of underestimation that Japan would make the decision to attack the US and have the capability to actually reach out and do it."

This catastrophic failure to predict the strike on Pearl Harbor had devastating consequences, with some 407,316 US service personnel killed during the conflict it led to. "There was a lot of intelligence gathered about a potential attack, and most of it was misread," laments military historian Patrick O'Donnell. "Like a lot of intelligence, it goes up the chain of command and doesn't get to the right people to make the right decisions until it's too late."

As well as being a deciding factor in the USA's decision to enter the conflict, it can be argued that Pearl Harbor would have a lasting and profound effect on the American mindset. "The positive thing is that we were a divided country politically, and then Pearl Harbor galvanised America like few other events could have in favour of the war effort," explains O'Donnell. "The unintended consequence that Hitler declared war on the US four days after the attack was incredible too. It was one of his great blunders and if he hadn't declared war on the United States we would have focused on Japan first."

And for Kilton, the effect on the American population was much more than simply swinging public opinion in favour of the war. "It was the beginning of the concept of the 'greatest generation'," he says. "The American people rose to the challenge that was before them. Not every decision made was a good decision, but everybody mobilised in some way. Even the media generated advertising stuff, and the recycling of cans for making equipment we needed for the war effort took hold. It was a full-hearted response.

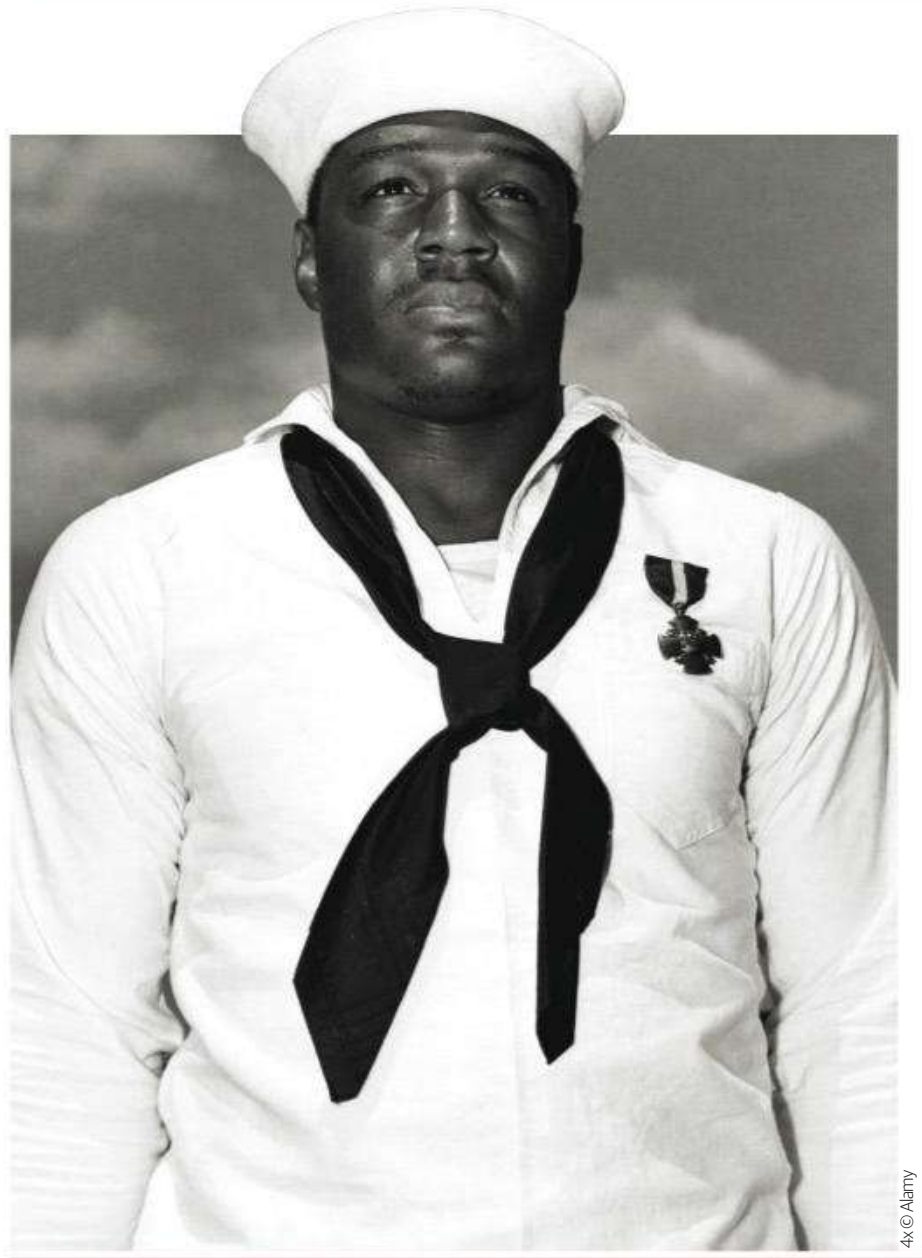
"We should also remember the role of 'Rosie the Riveter' and that women took on more responsibilities in factories as the men went off to war. These women rose to the challenge, coming out of the Great Depression where they had faced hardships and then playing a crucial role in a two-ocean war and succeeding."

The Japanese assault on Pearl Harbor is most often discussed in terms of how it ultimately brought the US into World War II, and this is perhaps most vividly demonstrated by its use on several propaganda posters that proclaimed patriotic Americans should join the war effort to "Avenge Pearl Harbor!"

"The attack on Pearl Harbor was the seminal event of the Second World War," says Stille. "It brought the full power of the United Sates into the war with enough time to shape the outcome of the war. It virtually guaranteed that the Americans would fight the war to the finish. For the Japanese, Pearl Harbor was the ultimate folly. It undermined their vague notion that the United States would succumb to war weariness and lead to a negotiated settlement. Not only was it the epitome of poor strategic planning, but it provided little military advantage to the Imperial Navy as it opened the conflict."

However, it was also a devastating and surprising attack, springing from almost a decade of growing tensions between the United States and Japan, which deserves to be remembered as such and not simply as the impetus for a much larger conflict. "You can still see the scars of the attack 80 years later," says Kilton, "and we need to never forget the lessons that we have learned as we make decisions today."

"The attack on Pearl Harbor was the seminal event of the Second World War"



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MEMORIAL FOR THE FALLEN

The sunken wreck of the USS Arizona serves as a lasting testament to the dead of Pearl Harbor

Struck by a 1,760lb bomb, the ammunition onboard the USS Arizona was detonated, killing 1,177 American sailors in an instant. The Arizona sunk and has lain submerged off the coast of Ford island ever since, with the wreck containing the bodies of a large number of servicemen who could not be recovered following the attack. In 1962, a white arched memorial was constructed over (though not touching) the wreck. Attracting around 1.8 million visitors a year, both the ship and the memorial serve as a lasting reminder of the horror of the Pearl Harbor attack.

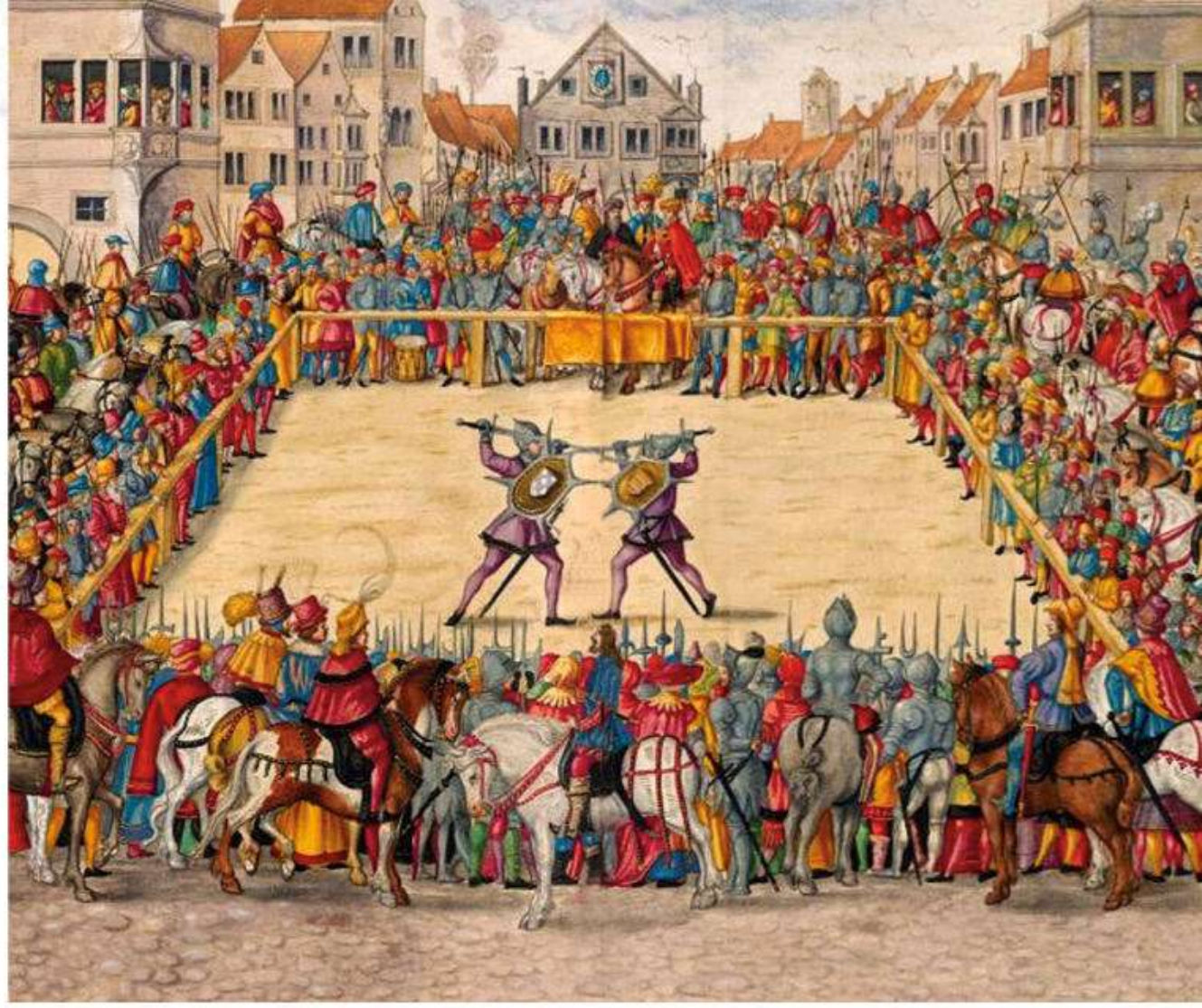
TRIAL BY COMBAT

Written by
Callum McKelvie

Throughout Medieval Europe, violent duels were a common method of resolving legal conflicts

You stand in your armour, sword and shield at your side. Across from you is your opponent – similarly dressed and awaiting the moment when your duel will begin. Perhaps you are professional 'champions', thugs hired to defend your employers' rights on the battlefield. Perhaps it's your rights you are protecting, facing your enemy yourself while the eyes of the court and even God look on. Or maybe you are standing in a hole, defending yourself with a club while your wife chucks rocks at you to settle a marital dispute. For centuries, these scenarios were very real ways through which a variety of legal cases were solved, from land disputes to accusations of theft and even rape. 'Trial by combat' or 'Judicial Duels' were used throughout Europe, particularly during the Middle Ages where they saw something of a 'golden age'.

Trials by combat had ancient origins and had been practised prior to their proliferation in the Middle Ages. In particular, Ancient Greece was known to favour single combat to solve disputes, as A MacC Armstrong of the Classical Association noted in a 1950 paper on the subject: "The Heroic age of Greece, like the heroic age of western Europe, practised trial by combat. For a combat to be judicial it must be single combat, it must be of numinous imports, as evidenced among the Greeks by a connexion with divination in the form of oracle or prophecy and there must be a dispute the issue of which is to depend on the result of the combat."



However, trial by combat as it became recognised in medieval Europe was somewhat different to that practised by the Greeks, and this is widely suspected to have its origins in the customs of the Germanic tribes. The Roman historian Tacitus refers to trial by combat in his *Germania* (though at this period it was unknown in both Roman and Anglo Saxon law) and various Germanic legal documents, such as the 94th chapter of the *Lex Alamannorum*, outline the various rules relating to specific disputes.

Variations of single combat appear across the continent, with one notable example being the Scandinavian 'Holmgang', used by the Vikings. These took place at duelling grounds and a payment, agreed before the fight began, would be paid to the winner. If the winner were able to deliver a mortal blow then all of his opponent's goods would become his. However, as Martin J Dougherty explains in *Vikings: A History of the Norse People*: "The duelist would have to achieve a killing blow or a mortal wound in a single strike that his opponent knew was coming. A considerable degree of skill – or blind luck - would be necessary for such a blow."

It was the Norman Conquest that brought trial by combat to British shores, and for over a century it served as the primary method of solving land disputes and other legal cases. "Trial by battle in England was used to decide disputes about land ownership," explains Professor Peter T Leeson, an expert on bizarre laws. "Judges ordered it when the evidence was unclear about which litigant was the rightful owner. That happened a lot because, in the Middle Ages, the evidence available to judges often amounted to conflicting eyewitness testimony and maybe conflicting land charters. Since murky facts were common in land disputes, so was trial by battle."

The logic behind trial by combat may seem unusual in today's society, where much of our legal system is not centred around Christian belief, but the basic concept was that by having a duel the conflict was placed into the hands of God. This was because trial by combat was more often than not used in situations where there was not enough evidence for the court to reach a conclusion. As Leeson writes in his paper *Trial by Battle*: "Trial by battle's ostensible justification was as simple as it was absurd. God favoured the rightful disputant's cause and so God would favour that disputant's cause in a physical fight."

As a result, in Britain, cases of this nature often resulted in trial by combat and the rules surrounding such a process were fairly simple. "The judges ordered the litigants to hire 'champions' – professional thugs who physically battled one another on their employers' behalf," Leeson explains. "The battle's outcome determined the legal outcome: the litigant whose champion prevailed was declared rightful owner of the disputed land. Battles were fought on court-appointed dates in front of judges and spectating citizens. The champions wielded clubs and shields. The plaintiff's champion could win by killing the defendant's champion or forcing him to submit. The defendant's champion had a third way of winning: pushing a stalemate until nightfall. At any point after judges ordered battle but before the battle was over, the litigants could settle their dispute, which overwhelmingly they did."

One particularly bizarre and unusual form of trial by combat was the 'Marital Duel', which mainly took place in the Holy Roman Empire. Much of our evidence for this originates from a series of illustrations, but as Allison Coudert notes in a 1985 paper on the subject: "As far as I know, nowhere except in the Holy Roman Empire were judicial duels ever considered fitting means to settle marital disputes and no record of such a duel has been found after 1200, at which a couple is reported to have fought with the sanction of the civic authorities at Bâle." Coudert's theory is that these illustrations (dating from the 14th to 16th centuries)

BELOW Depiction of a Viking 'Holmgang', an early form of Trial by Combat

DUELS OF HONOUR

In German universities of the 19th and early 20th century, duelling scars were a show of courage and a brotherly bond

'Duelling' could take many other forms, and many of these were for honour as opposed to a legal dispute. In the German military duelling scars, or 'Schmisse', were seen as something of a symbol of pride by officers. These scars were often referred to as 'Mensur Scars' and were the result of fencing. University duels of honour between students were incredibly common and although protective gear was worn (padding on the arms, chest and throat, and eye guards) these fights were extremely violent. Occasionally, due to the spontaneous and sometimes heated nature of these duels, they would take place without protection for the combatants. This practice was banned shortly following World War I and continued to be prohibited by the Nazi party. Following the end of World War II it was reinstated, though soon fell out of favour. 'Academic' duelling is still practised in some universities, though thankfully the obsession of obtaining facial scarring seems to have vanished.

ABOVE-LEFT
Illustration of a duel between Marshal Wilhelm von Dornsberg and Theodor Haschenacker. Von Dornsberg broke his sword but was still victorious

ABOVE-MIDDLE
Abraham Thornton, who was tried for murder and acquitted after calling for trial by combat

ABOVE-RIGHT
Depiction of a judicial duel, the kind of which took place in Britain during the Middle Ages

are copied from accounts from earlier manuscripts. Nonetheless, the earliest, by Paulus Kall, Master of Defence for the Duke of Bavaria, has a description that outlines what may have occurred during one of these duels. "The woman must be so prepared that a sleeve of her chemise extend a small ell [an arm's length] beyond her hand like a little sack," Kall begins. "There indeed is put a stone weighing three pounds and she has nothing else but her chemise and that is bound together between the legs with a lace. Then the man made himself ready against his wife. He is buried therein up to the girdle and one hand is bound at the elbow to the side." The man would then have to beat off the attack from the stone with a club.

One particular case that took place in 1288 seems to add credence to Kall's description. This involved a man fighting a woman, and he had several similar restrictions to those outlined by Kall imposed on him. However, the rules in this particular duel seem slightly more complex in nature: the man was armed with

> "Variations on the combat appear across the continent, such as the Scandinavian 'Holmgang' used by the Vikings"

three wooden clubs and placed in a large pit, while the woman was given three rocks. The woman was allowed to run around the edge of the pit but the man couldn't leave it; should he touch the edge he had to forfeit one of his clubs. If the woman were to hurl a rock while he handed the club over, she too would lose one of her weapons. These restrictions were imposed to make the fight between a man, who was usually stronger, and a women fairer.

The Holy Roman Empire saw numerous judicial duels take place during the Middle Ages, not just those of a marital nature. The practice had been named as a key method of resolving claims of theft, injury or insult in 1230 in the *Sachsenspiegel*, the empire's primary legal code. In the Holy Roman Empire, trial by combat functioned differently to Britain. Instead of the hiring of 'champions', it was the accused and accuser who faced each other, hence a husband could face his wife. However, the Holy Roman Emperor was becoming increasingly disturbed by the number of men who were being condemned due to physical weakness and not due to any sign of guilt. As a result of the emperor's concerns,

a legal code named the Kleines Kaiserrecht officially prohibited judicial duels around 1300 and soon other countries began to follow suit.

Back in Britain, by the end of the 1300s the practice of trial by combat as a means of resolving land disputes was similarly beginning to die out. "Trial by battle in England waned when its economic usefulness waned: with the erosion of feudalism and the corresponding emergence of a more robust market for land," explains Leeson. "In the late 12th century, various legal reforms in England had the effect of freeing up its land market. Once the land market is functioning, even if judges allocate disputed land inefficiently, the land soon ends up in efficient hands through market trades. Market trades tend to move land, like any other asset, into the hands of the person who values it most highly. Hence, as England's land market became freer, trial by battle made less and less economic sense. Why incur the expense of trials by battle when we can just ask jurors to allocate disputed land rights and let the land market take it from there? And so, trial by battle gave way to trial by jury."

Yet the practice had not completely died out. Easily one of the most famous examples of trial by combat is considered one of the last, and is now the subject of the film *The Last Duel* by celebrated Hollywood director Ridley Scott. The duel took place in France in 1386 saw Jean De Carrouges and Jacques Les Gris meeting on the battlefield for a duel. The latter had been accused by the wife of De Carrouges, Marguerite, of raping her and it was decided that the Les Gris' fate would be the subject of a duel to the death. However, Marguerite's life was also at stake because if De Carrouges was not victorious then she would have been executed for bearing false witness and burned at the stake. The case would be France's first trial by combat for an alleged rape in 30 years.

A number of different eyewitness accounts paint varying pictures of the duel, with even modern historians such as Eric Jager and Ariella Elma debating as to whether the battle was long and drawn out or relatively quick. One of these contemporary accounts, written by Les Gris' lawyer Jean Le Coq, states that: "Although he was the defendant, he attacked his adversary very cruelly and did it on foot, although he would have had the advantage if he had done it on horseback." Jean Froissart, who chronicled the event four years after the fact, spoke of the moment that De Carrouges claimed victory, stating: "He comported himself so valiantly that he struck his adversary to the ground. And so he thrust a sword in the body and killed him on the field."

ABOVE Fully-armoured duellers battle in this 15th century miniature

ABOVE-RIGHT Matt Damon (right) as Jean De Carrouges and Adam Driver as Jacques Les gris in the 2021 film *The Last Duel*

Following his defeat, Les Gris' corpse was dragged through the streets to the gallows where, as a final insult, his body was hung. Despite the title of the film, De Carrouges and Le Gris' fight wasn't actually the 'last duel'. However, it does have the honour of being the last judicial duel sanctioned by the Parliament of Paris, perhaps due to the distinctly unchivalrous and distasteful nature of the proceedings. Following the duel, De Carrouges spent the next ten years of his life as a wealthy and highly respected

TRIALS BY ORDEAL

Divine judicial oversight took many forms

Trial by fire

The use of fire to adjudicate guilt or innocence has taken many forms in different areas of the world and in different periods. In medieval Britain a defendant would be made to carry a hot poker, with the verdict decided by the burns on their hands. Meanwhile the Hindu story *The Ramayana* sees Sita walk through fire to prove her innocence when she's accused of adultery.

man. Yet his duties as a knight did not disappear and he died on the battlefield in 1396 at the age of 66 during combat against the Ottoman Turks. Of Marguerite's fate little is known, but it is suspected that she outlived her husband by several years.

Despite falling out of fashion, for many centuries and in many countries trial by combat was never officially banned. In 1597 the last certain case of trial by battle occurred in Britain when Adam Bruntfield, having accused James Carmichael of murder, slaughtered him in a battle. Although this is considered to be the last indisputable case there are a number that may have occurred afterwards, as well as a few near misses. In 1631, Charles I personally intervened to stop a duel between Lord Reay and David Ramsey. As Allan Chilvers wrote in *The Berties of Grimsthorpe Castle*: "His [Charles I]willingness to sanction it in

"New York is one of the few places where trial by combat remains part of the legal system"

the first place, and the evidence this provided of his interest in and approval of the court's proceedings, was another boost of self confidence for its practitioners." During the 17th and 18th century unsuccessful attempts were made to abolish the practice, and the 'wager of battle' was finally outlawed in 1819.

Trial by combat was finally abolished due to a last ditch attempt by one Abraham Thornton to free himself from suspicion of murder. On the 26 May 1817, Thornton had attended a dance at Tyburn House in Warwickshire where 20-year-old Mary Ashford was also in attendance. At around midnight the two were seen walking home together but the following morning at 7am she was found dead in a pit of water. At the initial trial Thornton was acquitted and it was only when Ashford's brother, William, raised an appeal that he was again brought before the court. Casting his glove dramatically to the floor Thornton proclaimed himself not guilty and declared: "I am ready to defend the same with my body." The court, deciding that Thornton was within his rights to demand a confrontation, set him free when Ashford turned down the challenge. Almost immediately, the case provoked Parliament to revoke the concept of the wager of battle.

These days trial by combat is something usually reserved for popular fiction. Bizarrely, New York is one of the few places where trial by combat remains part of the legal system. Lawyer Richard A Luthmann twice sought trial by combat to resolve cases before being disbarred this year, although neither resulted in any violence. These days trial by combat is likely to live on as nothing more than a historical curiosity.

'WTF?!: An Economic Tour of the Weird'
by Peter T Leeson is available now

All images: © Alamy

Trial by water

The most famous use of this ordeal comes from witch trials, but it could be applied to anyone thought to have committed a crime. Defendants would be bound and if they sank, they were innocent (and usually retrieved rather than being allowed to drown). A trial by water might also mean hot water, with a defendant having to keep their hand submerged. If they avoided blistering, they were free.

Trial by sacred morsel

You might not think eating bread and cheese would prove someone's guilt or innocence, but that's what the sacred morsel was meant to do. Eating it without choking proved your innocence but one famous example saw Godwin, Earl of Wessex, die while eating the sacred morsel having denied involvement in the death of Edward the Confessor's brother, Alfred.

Trial by cross

Rather than involving crucifixion, as the name might suggest, this was actually an ordeal of endurance where the accuser and accused had to stand with their arms out horizontally on either side of a cross. The person who held the position longest was deemed in the right. It was used to replace trial by combat by Charlemagne, which was the only other ordeal that saw accuser and accused face off.

© Getty Images

Trial by bean

A West African version of the trial by ordeal came from the Calabar bean, which came to be known as the 'lie detector bean'. The bean was highly poisonous, acting similarly to a nerve agent, but if the accused was innocent then God would save their lives. Actually, the bean is usually only poisonous if chewed, so swallowing it whole could mean the person would survive the trial.

The Forgotten

Princesses

The lives of Margaret and Mary Tudor have been overlooked for far too long

Written by Jessica Leggett

© Alamy, © Getty Images

When it comes to the Tudors, it's rare to see Margaret and Mary Tudor discussed in their own right. Born in 1489 and 1496 respectively, they were the surviving daughters of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York. The sisters were born into the newly established Tudor dynasty, and it was their father's mission to ensure the dynasty's stability domestically and internationally. As royal princesses, the sisters were destined for diplomatic marriages that would secure crucial foreign alliances.

Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scots

In January 1502, Henry VII and King James IV of Scotland signed the Treaty of Perpetual Peace and it was agreed that James would marry Margaret, who was 16 years younger than him. She was 13 years old when they married by proxy in January 1503, only a month before her mother Elizabeth died. In June, Margaret set off for her new life in Scotland in a lavish procession, with her father accompanying her for the first part of the journey north.

On 1 August, she crossed the border into Scotland, and a week later a formal wedding ceremony was held at the Holyrood Abbey. The couple wore white damask outfits and Margaret's gown was trimmed with crimson velvet. Afterwards, there was a short coronation ceremony and James was affectionate towards his young wife, holding her waist throughout the ritual.

Margaret gave birth to her first child, James, in 1507 but he died shortly after his first birthday. In total, Margaret had six children with James but only one, another son named James who was born in 1512, survived infancy.

Henry VII died in April 1509 and 17-year-old Henry succeeded him as king. He married Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, less than two months later. Tensions between England and Scotland quickly resurfaced with Henry's accession. Margaret herself was furious with Henry when he refused to give her the money that had been left to her in their brother's and father's wills.

In the meantime, the Italian Wars were raging in Europe and Henry joined Pope Julius II's anti-French alliance, the Holy League. In 1512, Henry invaded France, but due to a long-standing alliance between Scotland and France (known as the Auld Alliance), James invaded England to support Louis XII, the French king, in 1513.

The Treaty of Perpetual Peace was broken and Margaret's husband and brother were officially at war. However, James' invasion was a disaster for Scotland. Thousands of Scottish noblemen were slaughtered and James himself was slain at the Battle of Flodden on 9 September 1513. His bloody coat was handed to Catherine, who was acting as regent in England while Henry was away in France.

Margaret was 23 years old and pregnant when James was killed. Her husband's will stipulated that she should serve as regent for their 17-month-old son James, as long as she remained a widow. The infant king was crowned King James V on 21 September at Stirling Castle.

Margaret's role as regent was confirmed, but she was in a precarious position. She was both a woman holding power in a patriarchal society and the English king's sister, and there were those at court who feared she would be heavily influenced by her brother. Margaret's opponents wanted the Duke of Albany, the late king's cousin, to be regent. Albany had spent his entire life at the French court and he would support the Auld Alliance over England.

Initially, Margaret managed the regency well and peace was reached between England, Scotland and France. In April 1514, she gave birth to a son named Alexander. But, four months later, she secretly married Archibald Douglas, 6th Earl of Angus, a member of one of Scotland's most powerful noble families.

It was a catastrophic mistake. Margaret's actions enraged the nobles at court, who feared that Angus would influence her, and she had also broken the condition set for her regency. Margaret's decision to marry Angus remains a mystery but it has been speculated that she felt she needed male protection because of her enemies at court.

Regardless of her reasons for remarrying, Margaret's decision sparked fresh feuding at court. She sought Henry's help, but he offered little assistance beyond suggesting that she flee to England with Angus and her sons, which she refused to do. In less than a month, Margaret was removed from

ABOVE Margaret arrives in York during her procession to Scotland

LEFT Henry's involvement in the Italian Wars had implications for both of his sisters

the regency and replaced by Albany. She was then forced to flee to Stirling Castle with her sons after the Privy Council decided she should no longer have custody of them. In 1515, Albany arrived from France and besieged the castle, forcing Margaret to hand over her sons.

Her property and revenue were confiscated and Margaret fled to England while pregnant with Angus' child, giving birth to Margaret Douglas in Northumberland in October 1515. Following her arrival, Margaret received a gift of new gowns from her brother but that December, she learned that her youngest son had died. After 13 years away from England, she spent a year in London, reuniting with her siblings.

Following Henry's urging and Albany's assurances that she would be safe and that her property and revenue would be returned to her, Margaret returned to Scotland in 1517. Margaret declared she wanted a divorce from her estranged husband after learning that he had been living with a mistress and spending her money in her absence. Ironically, Henry was opposed to her decision to divorce Angus, even though he would pursue his own divorce years later.

The continuing conflict between Albany and Angus drove the latter to exile in France, and Margaret switched her allegiance to Albany, who also backed her divorce petition. Yet, when Albany returned to France in 1524, Margaret staged a coup with her allies at court and declared that James, now 12 years old, was an adult who no longer needed a regent. Parliament subsequently recognised Margaret as the king's chief councillor.

However, the following year, Angus returned and took custody of James, effectively imprisoning the young king for the next three years and ruling through him. Margaret's divorce was finally granted by Pope Clement VII in 1527, and she married Henry Stewart in March 1528.

In June, James V freed himself from Angus, who fled Scotland once again, and began ruling in his own right. Stewart was made Lord Methven by the king and initially Margaret and her husband were influential advisers to James – although Methven proved to be just as unfaithful to his wife as Angus was.

As James grew older, however, Margaret's influence declined and she was increasingly sidelined by her son. She endeavoured to maintain diplomatic relations between England and Scotland,

"The Treaty of Perpetual Peace was broken and Margaret's husband and brother were officially at war"

The English Succession

Margaret's marriage led to the unification of England and Scotland

The Treaty of Perpetual Peace was the first attempt in over 170 years to end the on/off warfare between England and Scotland. However, the marriage of Margaret and James also brought the Stewart house into the English line of succession. This had been opposed by many in England, but Henry VII had assured his critics that it would be England absorbing Scotland, not the other way round.

The marriage did lead to the eventual Union of the Crowns when Margaret and James' great-grandson, King James VI, succeeded Queen Elizabeth I as King James I of England in 1603. Interestingly, Margaret was James' great-grandmother on both sides of his family tree as his mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, was the daughter of King James V. His father, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was the son of Lady Margaret Douglas, Margaret's daughter with the Earl of Angus.

FAR-LEFT An engraving depicting Margaret refusing to hand over her sons at Stirling Castle

LEFT King James IV was killed at the Battle of Flodden

OPPOSITE-TOP Wedding portrait of Mary Tudor and Charles Brandon

OPPOSITE-BOTTOM This tapestry at Hever Castle depicts Mary and Louis' marriage in 1514

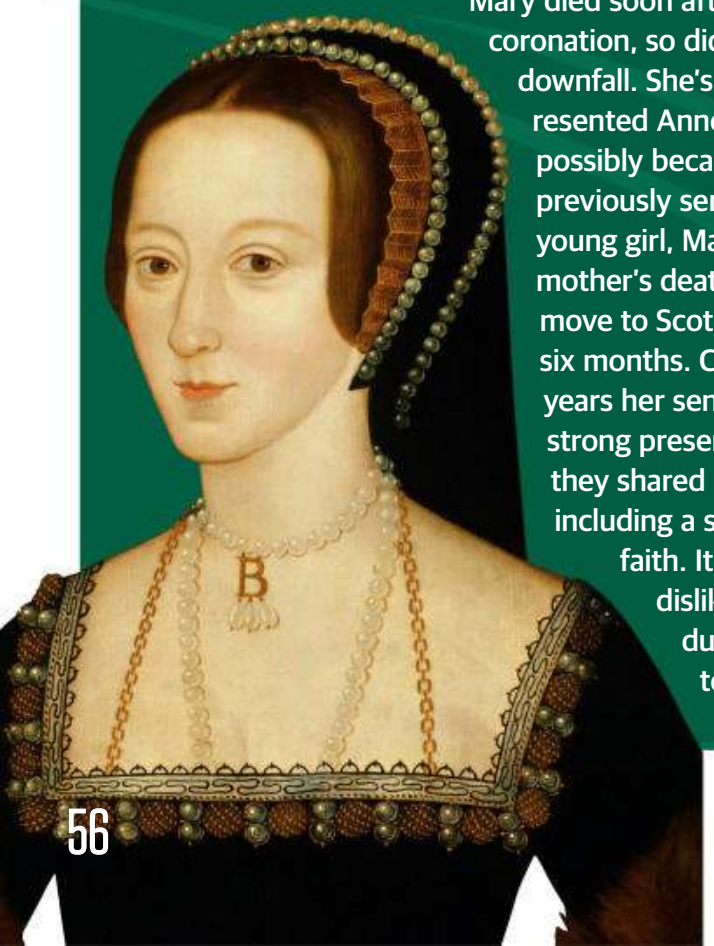
Did Mary hate Anne Boleyn?

The truth about their notorious feud

In 1514, Anne arrived in France to serve as a maid to Mary during her wedding to King Louis. When Louis dismissed the majority of Mary's retinue the next day, Anne was one of the few ladies who was permitted to stay. However, she was five years younger than Mary and lower in status, so it is unlikely that they would have been close.

Anne stayed in France for the next seven years after Mary returned to England following her marriage to Charles. When Anne arrived in England in 1522, the two women would meet again, this time in a pageant where Anne famously played the role of 'Perseverance,' and Mary played the role of 'Beauty.'

During the late 1520s, Mary found herself at odds with Henry, who was pursuing a divorce from Catherine in order to marry Anne. Mary was enraged, and in 1529 she left the court in protest, refusing to accept Anne as anything more than a mistress. In March 1532, the men of the Duke of Norfolk, Anne's father, and the men of the Duke of Suffolk, Mary's husband, got into a fight. It was allegedly sparked by something Mary said about Anne, and one of Suffolk's men died as a result.



Mary died soon after Anne's coronation, so did not witness her downfall. She's often said to have resented Anne's rise in power, possibly because the latter had previously served her. But as a young girl, Mary dealt with her mother's death and her sister's move to Scotland in less than six months. Catherine, nine years her senior, became a strong presence in her life and they shared many interests, including a strong Catholic faith. It's likely that Mary's dislike for Anne was due to her loyalty to Catherine.

although James was more interested in maintaining the Auld Alliance.

Mary Tudor, Queen of France

When Margaret left for Scotland in 1503, Mary lost both her mother and her sister in less than sixth months. It is likely that she formed her close relationship with Henry during this time – she is often described as his favourite sister – and it is possible that they were educated together.

In 1507, Mary had been betrothed to Catherine's nephew, Charles, who would eventually become Holy Roman Emperor. The marriage would secure another important alliance for Mary's father, as Charles was the grandson of Maximillian, Holy Roman Emperor and a member of the powerful Habsburg family.

> *"Mary took responsibility for the marriage, most likely to protect Charles from her brother's wrath"*

After Julius II's death in 1513, his successor, Pope Leo X, signed a peace treaty with Louis XII. Henry had little choice but to make peace with France unless he wanted to face the rest of Europe alone. Mary's long-standing engagement to Charles was broken so that she could marry the French king, securing the new peace between England and France, arranged thanks to Cardinal Wolsey's efforts.

News of the impending marriage was met mostly with disdain across Europe. Mary, who had inherited her mother's fair skin and hair, was 18 years old and a typical English rose. Louis, on the other hand, was 52 and in poor health, suffering from severe gout. Contemporary historian Edward Hall claimed that in the Low Countries, part of the Habsburg dominions, they were disappointed to lose Mary and that they "spake shamefully of this marriage, that a feeble old & pocky man should mary so fayre a lady".

In August 1514, Mary married Louis by proxy, and a month later she travelled to Dover with Henry and Catherine to begin her new life in France. It was here where Mary allegedly received a promise from her brother that if she married Louis as he desired, she would be able to choose her next husband if she outlived her first. Mary left for France, accompanied by her retinue and escorted by Henry's best friend, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk – the man she was in love with.

The wedding of Mary and Louis took place in October, with the bride wearing cloth of gold. However, when Louis decided to dismiss most of Mary's English retinue, their marriage hit a snag. The move left Mary feeling vulnerable at the French court and she wrote to Henry to complain, with Louis later explaining that he believed her ladies were keeping him from his new wife.

The engagement and marriage had been conducted quickly and for good reason. Louis was considerably older than his bride and he had also failed to produce a son, so his throne was set to be inherited

by his son-in-law and nearest male relative, Francis of Angoulême.

Louis died on 1 January 1515, less than three months into his marriage. Despite the fact that his death was not unexpected, many people blamed Mary, claiming that the king had spent the last months of his life trying to please his young wife. Following her husband's death, Mary went into mourning and seclusion for 40 days, while France waited to see if she was pregnant with Louis' child, which would have impacted the succession.

Mary was not pregnant and Francis succeeded to the throne as Francis I. Henry dispatched Charles Brandon to France again to bring his sister home. She was still a young and highly desirable bride and Henry wanted to ensure that they kept the wealth that Mary had acquired during her brief reign as queen. Henry reportedly warned Charles not to marry his sister while they were in France, which Charles promised that he would not.

However, Mary was at risk of becoming a diplomatic pawn again. As Henry's sister, he had an interest in marrying her off again for his own advantage, despite the promise he had supposedly made. Yet, as the dowager queen of France, Francis also had a vested interest in Mary's marriage prospects because he could possibly have benefited from her remarriage.

Upset, Mary refused to marry again unless she could choose the man she wanted: Charles. In March 1515, the couple married in secret in Paris, with only ten people in attendance. This included King Francis, who had been persuaded to support the marriage by Charles, and who likely supported the couple because it prevented Henry from gaining a diplomatic advantage by marrying Mary off again.

Henry was humiliated by Mary and Charles' secret wedding. What was worse, Charles had committed treason by marrying the king's sister without express permission. Mary was safe because she was a royal princess and Henry's favourite sister, but Charles was in danger of being executed. The newlyweds attempted to minimise the fallout by writing letters to Henry, apologising for their deception. Mary took responsibility for the marriage, most likely to protect Charles from her brother's wrath, with Charles claiming he had no choice but to marry Mary because she was so distraught.

The couple benefitted from the fact that they also had the support of Cardinal Wolsey, who intervened with Henry on their behalf, and even edited Mary's letters to her brother before she sent them. The fact that they stayed in France after the wedding may have given Henry a chance to cool off.

Although Henry was furious, he knew Brandon was ultimately loyal to him and was no threat to him, and his anger was more likely the result that his right to make the decision was taken from him. Mary and Charles managed to buy the king's forgiveness by paying a fine of £24,000, as well as Mary's dowry and the jewels and gold plate given to her by Louis.

All images: © Alamy

In May 1515, the couple returned to England and married officially in Greenwich. Henry and Catherine attended the ceremony, which was a significant and public gesture of the king's forgiveness. Although Mary spent little time at court, perhaps because she gave birth to four children between 1516 and 1523, the relationship between Mary, Charles, and Henry improved over time – until Henry's desire to marry Anne Boleyn caused a rift between the two siblings.

Two formidable women

Mary died in June 1533, one month after Anne Boleyn's coronation. Margaret spent the rest of her life in Scotland, where she died in 1541. Their lives were certainly complicated and both women took big risks with Margaret, in particular, frequently derided as reckless and ineffective for her decisions. Yet she managed to survive the fractious Scottish court while Mary escaped the fury of their brother, who grew increasingly cruel during his reign, and regained his favour. The sisters made the decisions that were best for them, at a time when royal women had little say over their lives – and that is truly remarkable.

Daimyo

THE WARLORDS OF JAPAN

In the blood-soaked chaos of civil war these powerful samurai lords battled for supremacy

Written by Marc DeSantis

Japan has a long history of feudal warfare. Such conflict reached its apogee during the Sengoku Jidai, 'the Age of the Country at War', that stretched from 1467 until 1615. The warlords of this fractured Japan, riven by civil wars, were known as daimyo, the 'Great Names', that ruled over large territories of the country.

The daimyo proper, as opposed to the traditional aristocrats of medieval Japan, traced their origin to the heyday of the Ashikaga shoguns. The 14th century witnessed the rise of a new samurai aristocracy known as the shugo. Originally, shugo were military governors serving the prior Kamakura bakufu (military government) and they were subsequently integral members of the following Ashikaga Shogunate. Like the daimyo of later years, the shugo were the lords of their own domains.

The power of the Ashikaga Shogunate declined precipitously in the late 15th century as the country had been shaken by a series of devastating peasant revolts. Then the ten-year Ōnin War (1467-77) between two rival clans, the Hosokawa and the Yamana, was fought over the control of Kyoto, Japan's capital, and the seat of the emperor himself. Much of Kyoto was destroyed in the conflict, and the authority of the Ashikaga was largely ruined along with it.

Hojo Soun: The First Daimyo

The disruption of traditional lines of authority that followed the Ōnin War opened up opportunities for ruthless samurai to grab a share of power by using any means possible. Old families of ancient lineage could be knocked from their perches by aggressive underlings, or perhaps they could even be annihilated altogether.

This era of instability and civil war that engulfed Japan, the Sengoku Jidai,

Image source: wiki/risingsunprints.com

ABOVE One of the greatest of Japan's Sengoku-era warlords, in 1582 Oda Nobunaga committed ritual suicide as the Honnoji temple in Kyoto burned around him

BELOW Victory at the 1600 Battle of Sekigahara paved the way for the Sengoku Jidai daimyo Tokugawa Ieyasu to become the overlord of all Japan

Image source: wiki/City of Gifu Museum of History

Image source: wiki/Honnma Museum of Art

THE 14TH CENTURY WITNESSED THE RISE OF A NEW SAMURAI ARISTOCRACY KNOWN AS THE SHUGO

allowed for the true daimyo to come to the fore. The subversion of lordly aristocrats by people substantially lower on the social scale was termed gekokujō, 'the low overcoming the high'.

The prototypical daimyo, Hōjō Sōun (1432-1519), had himself initially been only an ordinary samurai. He subdued a rebel leader in Ise province in 1491 and for his good work was put in charge of the region. He and his sons relentlessly enlarged their holdings in the ensuing years. In addition to being an excellent soldier, Sōun, who would live until the ripe old age of 88, showed a flair for good governance. The law code he promulgated would provide a legal template for other daimyo.

Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin

The Sengoku Jidai would see the rise of several legendary daimyo whose names still resonate in Japanese history. Among the foremost of these warlords were the great rivals Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin.

Takeda Shingen (1521-73) was the master of Kai province in modern-day Yamanashi prefecture, while Uesugi Kenshin (1530-78) ruled Echigo province in north-central Japan. Both were, in addition to being daimyo, Buddhist monks. Each had shown ruthlessness in achieving power in their respective domains. Shingen had mounted a coup against his own father, a daimyo who had planned to pass over him and give his lands to another, younger son.

An excellent general, Shingen was also known as a wise and generous civil administrator. The peasant farmers of Kai were relatively well-treated in comparison to those ruled by other daimyo, and they gave Shingen their complete loyalty.

Kenshin's ascent was even more dramatic. Originally named Nagao Kagetora, he was a vassal of the more powerful Uesugi clan. However, the Uesugi fell on hard times during the Sengoku Jidai, and this opened the door for Kagetora to step through. After a series of defeats had left the Uesugi clan prostrate, its chief, Uesugi Norimasa, appealed to his vassal for succour.

This was granted, but Kagetora did so on the condition that he be adopted as the Uesugi heir and also be made the lord of Echigo. He changed his name to Uesugi Kenshin.

Shinano province lay between the domains of Kenshin and Shingen, and it became their battleground. They would meet in five separate battles at Kawanakajima, a strategically important piece of land, between 1553 and 1564. These were fought with large doses of chivalry; the greatest and most dramatic of the encounters, the fourth battle, was fought in 1561. When news

Image source: wiki/TokugawaArtMuseum

LEFT The Takeda clan horsemen were cut down by Oda Nobunaga's arquebusiers at the Battle of Nagashino in 1575

reached Kenshin that Shingen's salt supply had been disrupted by another daimyo, he delivered some of his own to his enemy, saying that he battled with a sword, not salt.

Oda Nobunaga

After the unravelling of the Ashikaga Shogunate following the Ōnin War, Japan would be bereft of a central government for over a century. The civil wars would come to an end only with the appearance of three remarkable daimyo. The first of these was Oda Nobunaga.

The son of an unimportant daimyo in Owari province, Nobunaga won a surprising victory over a much stronger opponent in 1560 at the Battle of Okehazama. In 1568, he was in control of Kyoto, and the shogun, Ashikaga Yoshiaki, was his own creature. In 1573, Yoshiaki made the mistake of going against Nobunaga, who drove him into exile. A good portion of Kyoto was burned in the process. The Ashikaga Shogunate, for so long toothless, was now truly finished.

Nobunaga was an enthusiastic adopter of firearms, the first of which had been brought to Japan by Portuguese traders. His arquebusiers, deployed in lines and firing in disciplined volleys, decimated the charging cavalry of the Takeda clan (the formidable Takeda Shingen was now dead) at the Battle of Nagashino in 1575.

Nobunaga's control over Japan increased over the next few years, and he would eventually corral 22 provinces into submission. However, in 1582 he would be betrayed by one of his own vassals while in Kyoto's Honnō-ji temple. The building was set on fire and, like a true samurai, Nobunaga committed seppuku (ritual suicide) so that he might die by his own hand.

Toyotomi Hideyoshi

One of Nobunaga's subordinates, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, seized the chance brought about by his death to take vengeance on the perpetrators. An extremely capable general of low birth, Hideyoshi vaulted to the pinnacle of power and set about bringing Japan's daimyo under his own domination.

With an army of around 250,000 soldiers, he extended his power over the southern Japanese islands of Kyushu and Shikoku in 1587. By 1590, he had secured the submission of the last remaining independent daimyo in Honshu, Japan's main island. The country had at last been unified. All daimyo swore loyalty oaths to Hideyoshi, getting in return acknowledgments of their rights to their own fiefs.

Tokugawa Ieyasu

Hideyoshi's 1592 invasion of Korea would last several years and prove to be a bloody, costly failure. His death in 1598 created a path to ultimate power for the greatest of the Sengoku daimyo to arise: Tokugawa Ieyasu. A leading vassal of Hideyoshi, he had his base at Edo (the future Tokyo) and first defeated a powerful alliance of his enemies at the Battle of Sekigahara in 1600. The last embers of rebellion were finally stamped out with Ieyasu's capture of Osaka Castle in 1615.

These military successes made Ieyasu the unchallenged master of all Japan. Having taken the moribund title of shogun in 1603, he made Edo the seat of the national government. For him, and his descendants who would become shoguns after him, the goal was a stable, peaceful Japan. The land would still be ruled by daimyo, with each man the lord of his domain, but all would acknowledge the Ieyasu shogun as his supreme overlord.

Rōnin: Men of the Waves

The samurai, so strongly linked to his daimyo, might well find himself without a lord, depending upon the fortunes of war or other vicissitudes of life. These samurai without masters were known as rōnin, 'men of the waves'. Though they may have lacked masters, they still possessed their superlative military skills, and they were a ready source of recruits for a daimyo who wished to quickly bulk up his army.

One daimyo, for example, named Kuroda Yoshitaka, shrewdly advised his officials to overlook it if the coins paid to the rōnin were too heavy or if the rōnin pilfered some of them. He needed to bring rōnin to his banner and having a reputation for generosity was the surest way to do this.

At the end of the Sengoku Jidai, many rōnin made their way to Osaka Castle to defend it against Tokugawa Ieyasu. Such service brought them money, always welcome, and also gave them the chance to take vengeance on the enemy. In the end, Osaka Castle was doomed and the rōnin inside along with it. After it fell in 1615, many were beheaded by the victorious Ieyasu.

Rōnin might come into existence even after the end of the Age of the Country at War. In the late 19th century, when the forces of the resurgent emperor moved to supplant the Ieyasu shogunate as the central government, they sought the support of the peasantry. To this end, rōnin were used to disseminate the news that taxes would be slashed in half if the imperial side gained power, and the message did not fail to gain adherents for the imperial party.

The memory of the rōnin persists among modern Japanese. The story of the 47 Rōnin who took vengeance for their master is justly famous. Also, high school graduates who fail to secure admission to the universities of their choice and choose to wait a year to take the entrance examinations again are called rōnin.

BELOW Arguably the first of the true daimyo, Hōjō Sōun exemplified the samurai who had risen from obscurity to a position of power in Japan's turbulent Age of the Country at War

Image source: wiki/Odawara Castle Tower Collection

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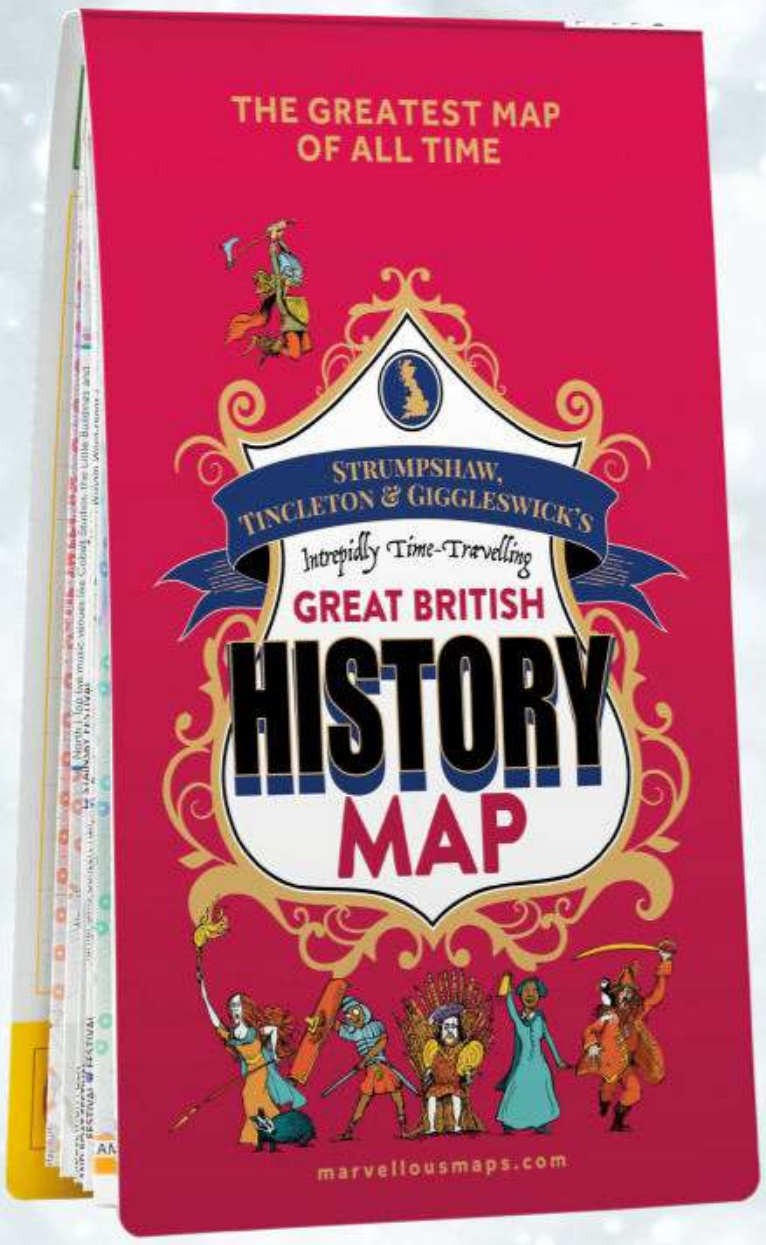

"THIS CARTOGRAPHICAL BLAST FROM THE PAST WILL INSPIRE SOME INTREPID TIME TRAVEL THROUGH BYGONE BRITAIN"

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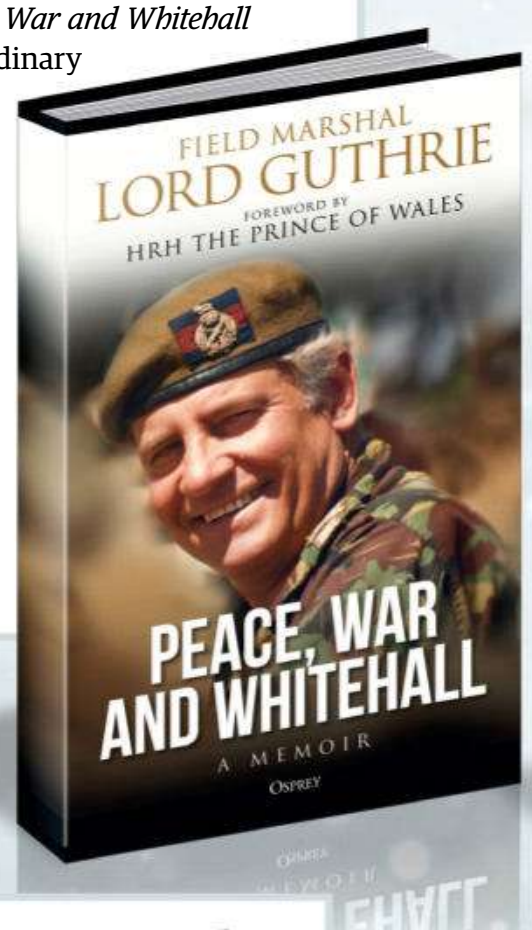

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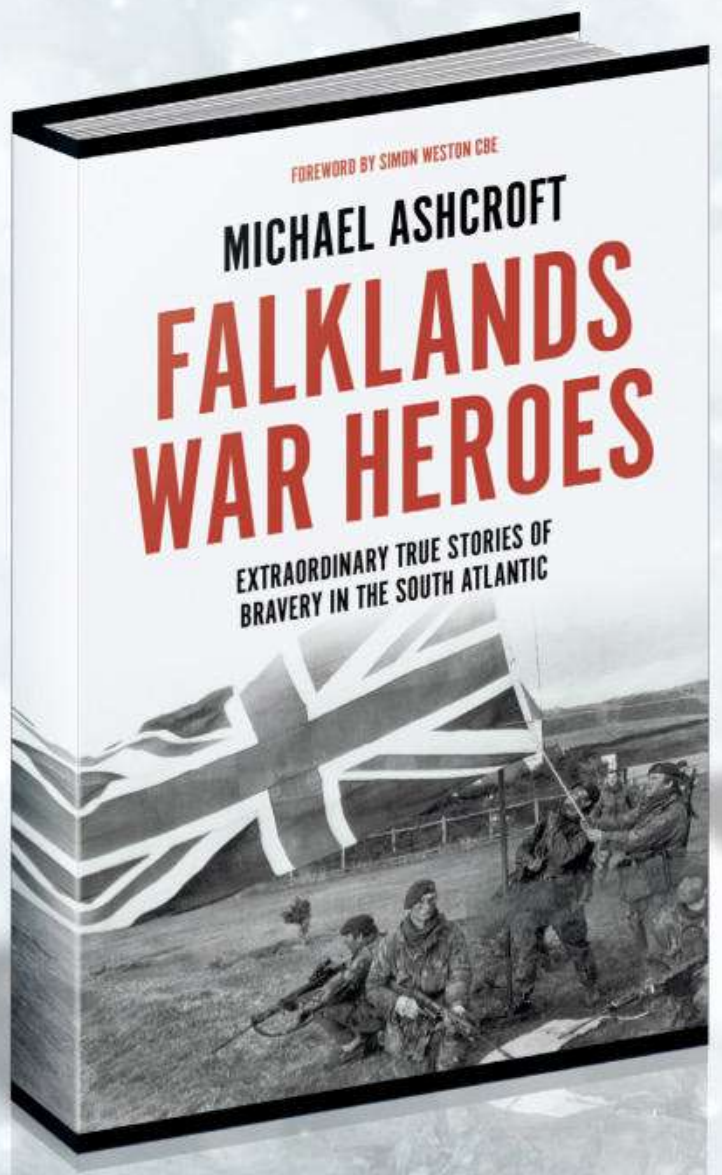
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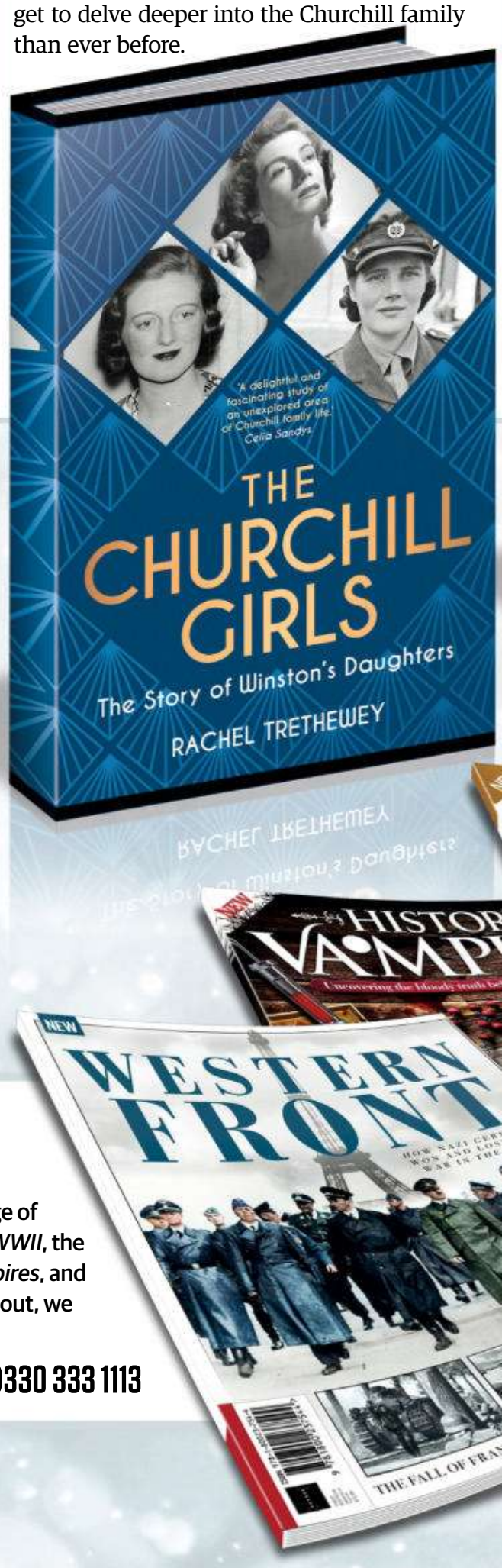
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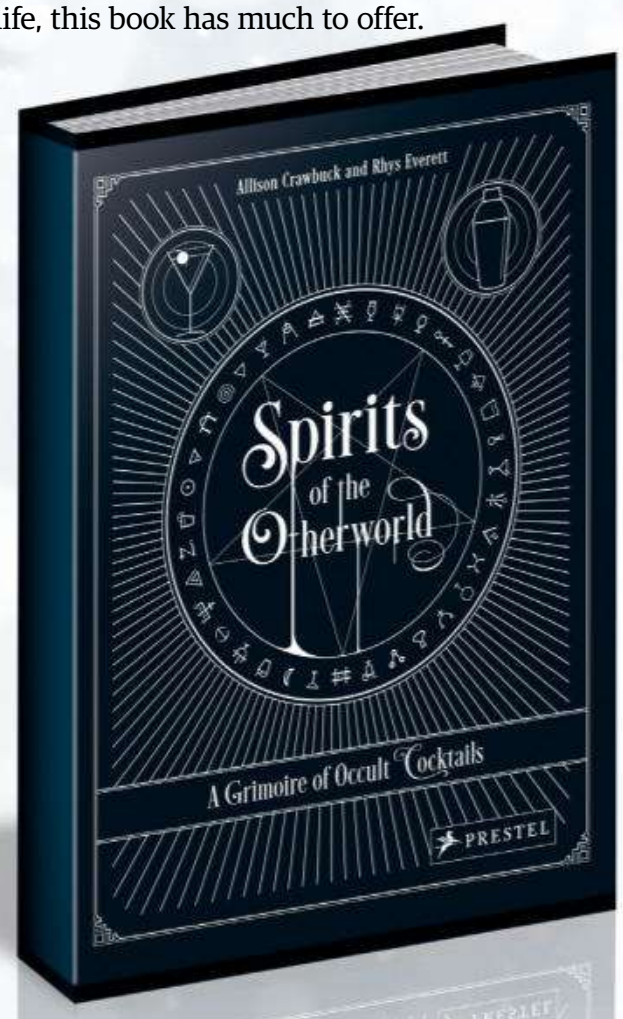

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Greatest Battles

BATTLE OF JAFFA

KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM, 5 AUGUST 1192

Written by William E Welsh

The Franks were perennially short of troops in the Holy Land to hold the four crusader states established after the First Crusade. Because of this, they could ill afford a major defeat against their Muslim foes on the field of battle. Although the multinational Christian armies of the First and Second Crusades numbered tens of thousands of troops, the majority returned home after their respective Crusade came to a close. This left only a small number of Franks to hold a large swath of territory in the Holy Land.

After the untimely death of the 10-year-old Shia Fatimid Caliph Al-Adid in 1171, his Sunni Kurdish vizier called Ayyubid Sultan Salah ad-Din Yusuf ibn Ayyub – better known to history as Saladin – wrested control of Egypt. This changed the balance of power in the region decisively in favour

King Richard the Lionheart and his knights overwhelm the Muslim cavalry beneath the walls of Jaffa

of the Muslims. Saladin had grown up in Syria, where his family had served first Imad al-Din Zengi, the Oghuz Turkish governor of Aleppo, and later his second son, Emir Nur ad-Din, the governor of Syria and Upper Mesopotamia. Upon Nur ad-Din's death in 1174, Saladin began campaigning in Syria. By the early 1180s, he had succeeded in conquering both Damascus and Aleppo. It was the first time that the Franks faced a single Muslim ruler who controlled the military resources of both Egypt and Syria.

Meanwhile, the Latin footprint in the Holy Land was shrinking. The Zengid Turks had completed their conquest of the northernmost crusader state, the County of Edessa, over a six-year period ending in 1150. Of the three remaining crusader states, the Principality of Antioch, County of Tripoli and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the latter was most powerful. Its king was the overall leader of all three crusader states. He ruled from Jerusalem and occupied the bustling port of Acre: one of the finest harbours on the Levantine coast.

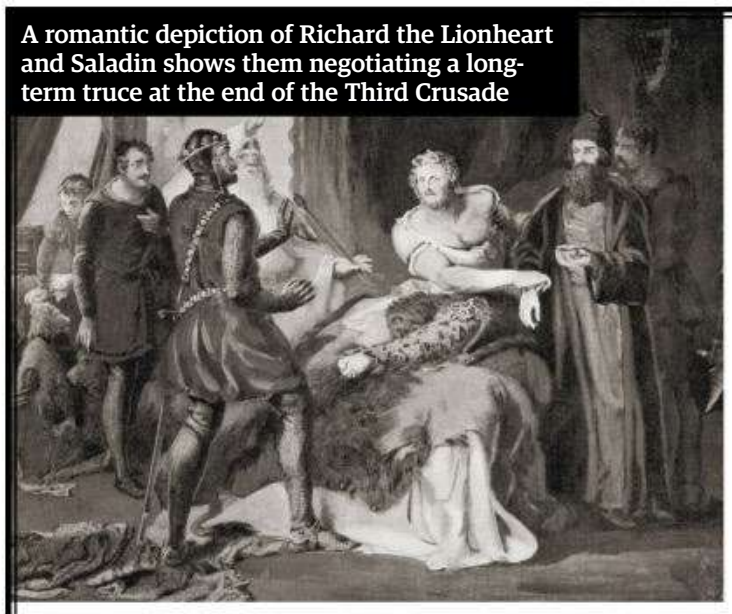
While Saladin was building his power, the crusader states suffered from a lack of strong leadership. Guy of Lusignan, who ascended to the throne in 1186 through his marriage to Queen Sibylla, was an inept commander. This became glaringly apparent when Saladin soundly defeated his 20,000-strong crusader army at Hattin in Galilee with his 30,000 Muslim horsemen on 4 July 1187.

Saladin captured Guy and many of his soldiers at Hattin. The sultan subsequently imprisoned Guy in Damascus until such time as the Franks paid his ransom. Saladin embarked on a sweeping offensive after Hattin, capturing Acre, Jaffa, Sidon, Beirut and Ascalon – all ports through which supplies flowed to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. His capture of the city of Jerusalem on 2 October boded ill for the Latin crusader states. Unless well-led Frankish reinforcements arrived soon, the Kingdom of Jerusalem might soon fall to the Muslims.

CRUSADERS RETAKE ACRE

Pope Gregory VIII issued a papal bull on 29 October calling for the Third Crusade. The three most powerful rulers in Western Europe, Philip II of France, Henry II of England and Holy Roman Emperor Frederick I 'Barbarossa', all agreed to take the cross and lead an army of Christian soldiers to the Holy Land in a bid to recover Jerusalem and roll back Saladin's gains.

AllImages: © Alamy


A romantic depiction of Richard the Lionheart and Saladin shows them negotiating a long-term truce at the end of the Third Crusade

The Franks paid Guy's ransom after one year of captivity. To his credit, Guy scraped together a small army and besieged Acre, even though he lacked enough troops to surround it by land. He intended the siege to serve as a starting point for the recovery of Palestine and Jerusalem. He simply needed to hold on until large-scale reinforcements arrived.

Meanwhile, Frederick Barbarossa died in an accident while marching through Anatolia with his army. Most of his troops returned home, and the Germans played a very minor role in the remainder of the Third Crusade.

Philip II and Richard I 'Lionheart', who had succeeded his late father to the throne, arrived at Acre in spring 1191 with large armies that made the fall of the port-city inevitable. Employing the best siege tactics of the time, as well as a tight naval blockade, the two monarchs defeated the 3,000 Muslim garrison troops in July of that year.

Philip departed for home on 3 August. As a result, Richard became the undisputed ruler of the Third Crusade, given that Guy, who hailed from Poitou, was Richard's vassal. The 34-year-old king of England possessed a remarkable grasp of military tactics, which he had refined in fratricidal warfare with his father while defending his Angevin inheritance.

Rather than marching directly to Jerusalem from Acre, which would have taken his army through hill country where it might be ambushed in narrow defiles, Richard opted to march his crusaders south along the coast to the Palestinian port of Jaffa. Once he had secured Jaffa, Richard would decide on the best approach to capturing Jerusalem.

Richard's 10,000 Anglo-Norman and French crusaders, most of whom were on foot, save for 300 mounted knights, set out for Jaffa five days later. The army travelled in three divisions, with the crossbowmen and spearmen marching on the outside and the mounted knights and baggage train on the inside, and the shoreline protecting their right flank. To strengthen his marching column, Richard assigned the disciplined Templars and Hospitallers to lead the vanguard and rearguard respectively.

Saladin's horse-archers harassed the crusader army on a nearly daily basis in an effort to goad Richard's mounted knights into launching charges that might allow the Muslim horsemen to isolate, encircle and destroy them. As the Franks drew close to Jaffa, Saladin grew increasingly desperate as his harassment tactics failed to produce results. So he decided to commit his army to a large-scale attack near the Forest of Arsuf on 7 September.

RICHARD CRUSHES SALADIN AT ARSUF

In the ensuing pitched battle at Arsuf, Richard's foot soldiers shielded his knights from the waves of attacking Muslim light cavalry. When the horse-archers had exhausted their mounts, Richard led his heavy cavalry in two charges that inflicted heavy losses on Saladin's field army. The Muslims suffered 7,000 casualties, while Richard's Christians lost just 700 men.

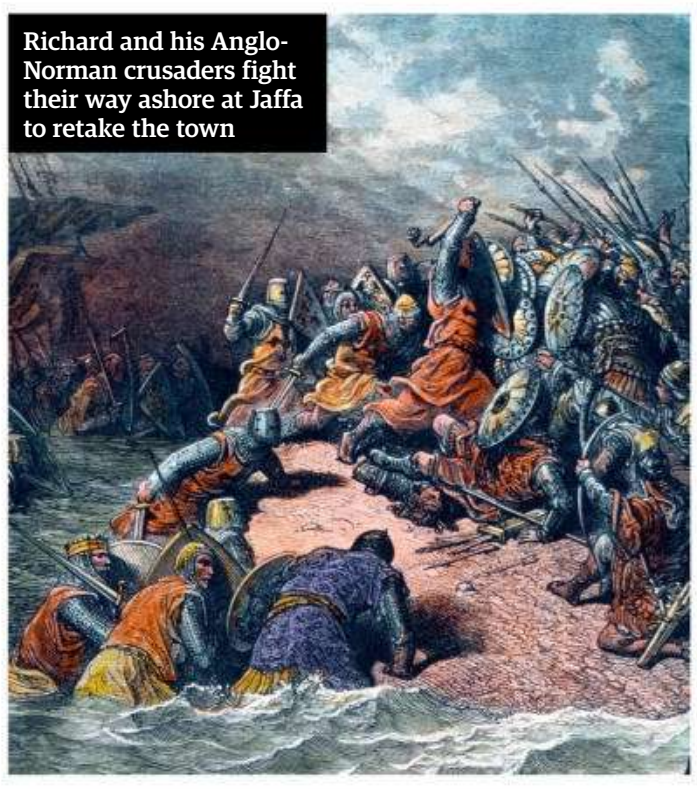
The crusaders reached Jaffa two days later and Richard put his men to work rebuilding the town's defences. While this work was under way, he planned his advance on Jerusalem.

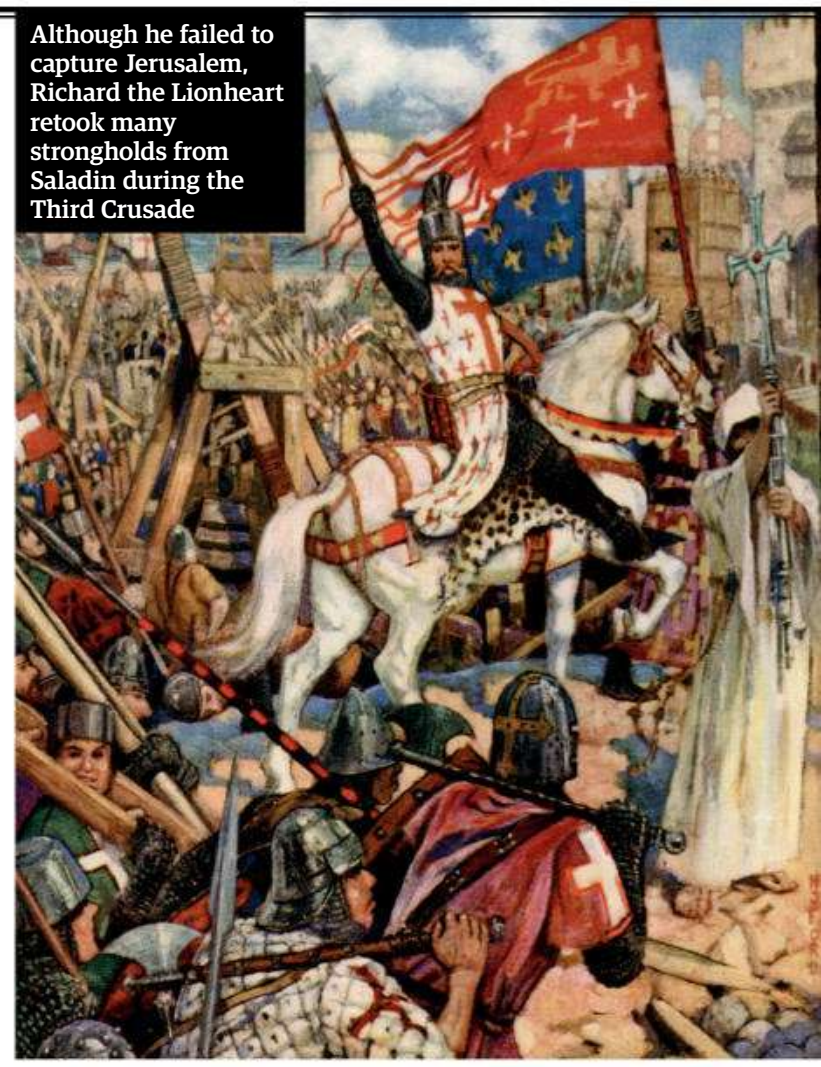
Meanwhile, Saladin began to prepare the defence of Jerusalem. In mid-September, the Ayyubid sultan withdrew Muslim troops and civilians from the port of Ascalon 48km south of Jaffa. Before his troops pulled out of Ascalon, Saladin ordered his men to dismantle the port's fortifications in order to deny them to the crusaders.

Richard initiated peace negotiations with Saladin's ministers in October 1191. Although as a pious Muslim, Saladin would never consider a permanent peace with the Franks, he was amenable to a long-term truce. The English king believed that if he could compel Saladin to willingly evacuate Jerusalem in exchange for other territory, he might avoid a lengthy siege. But the talks bore no fruit that autumn.

Richard led his crusader force west towards Jerusalem on 22 December. They came to within 11km of the Holy City when Saladin received heavy reinforcements from Egypt. Believing Saladin's army covering Jerusalem was too large to defeat, Richard withdrew his army to Jaffa in mid-January 1192.

To raise the morale of his troops, Richard marched his army to Ascalon in late January. Ascalon, which had a better anchorage than Jaffa, became his base for the next five months. He set his troops to work rebuilding its fortifications, and morale was restored.


Richard and his Anglo-Norman crusaders fight their way ashore at Jaffa to retake the town


Although he failed to capture Jerusalem, Richard the Lionheart retook many strongholds from Saladin during the Third Crusade

The establishment of a crusader stronghold at Ascalon annoyed Saladin. He demanded that Richard dismantle the fortifications, but Richard refused to do so. This dispute hindered the progress of their continuing negotiations.

In mid-June, the Frankish crusader army advanced on Jerusalem for a second time. During the second advance, Richard's crusaders intercepted a large Muslim caravan journeying from Cairo to Jerusalem. The plunder included hundreds of camels and baggage horses, which the crusaders desperately needed for their war effort.

SALADIN STORMS JAFFA

Despite this success, Richard realised that he lacked the manpower to successfully undertake a lengthy siege of Jerusalem and also protect his supply line to the sea while the siege was under way. Richard began to contemplate less challenging military objectives that would strengthen the waning power of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Believing the Muslim-held port of Beirut to be an easier target than Jerusalem, he left a small garrison at Jaffa and led his army back to Acre to prepare for an attack on that objective.

As soon as the Franks departed Jaffa, Saladin besieged the town on 27 July. The garrison commander sent a messenger to Acre immediately to implore Richard to come to their aid as soon as possible. Richard dispatched Count Henry of Champagne, his trusted nephew, to lead a relief column overland to Jaffa. The column set out on 29 July, but its advance was blocked at Caesarea by a second Muslim army.

Richard decided to lead another relief force by sea to Jaffa. He boarded his red-hulled flagship while

the rest of his troops boarded the Italian vessels that constituted the bulk of the naval squadron. Saladin's troops successfully stormed Jaffa on 30 July and the Frankish garrison withdrew to the walled port's inner citadel to await relief. Saladin pressured the Christian troops in the citadel into agreeing to surrender the fortress if they were not relieved by mid-afternoon on 1 August. Richard's squadron arrived in the harbour at Jaffa on the evening of 31 July.

LIONHEART RETAKES JAFFA

Richard ordered the captain of his flagship to sail as close to the shore as possible. He and his Anglo-Norman soldiers and Italian sailors and marines fought their way ashore. The English king then detailed a portion of his force to build a palisade to secure the beach. Richard then led a hand-picked group of soldiers in an assault on the town by way of a winding staircase near the beach that led directly into the Templar quarters in Jaffa. Fighting as they went, they were joined by the garrison that sallied forth from the citadel. The bloodthirsty relief force and the garrison, who were bent on revenge, slaughtered most of the Muslims in the town and drove the remainder out of the eastern gate.

Saladin's pavilion was situated outside of Jaffa, and he was not present when Richard and his men fought their way ashore. He berated the officers in charge of the forces inside the town when he learned that it was once again in Frankish hands. After a weak counterattack to recapture the town failed, Saladin withdrew his forces 8km to the west, where he established a new camp.

Richard put his men to work over the course of the next three days repairing the walls of Jaffa that had been damaged by Saladin's catapults in his brief assault on the town. In a bid to further humiliate his nemesis, the English king ordered his troops to camp on the very spot occupied by Saladin. By bivouacking outside of the town's walls, Richard was offering battle to Saladin if he should want to try to retake Jaffa.

Saladin would soon take him up on that offer. The sultan wanted to try to capture Jaffa before Richard's small force was heavily reinforced by Henry of Champagne's army with its Templar and Hospitaller companies. Despite their misgivings about going up against Richard again, the emirs who commanded the Muslim army heeded Saladin's orders to launch a surprise attack against the crusader camp at dawn on 5 August.

CRUSADERS REPULSE SALADIN'S COUNTERATTACK

Saladin's surprise attack did not come off as well as it might have. The Mamluks and Kurds, who were the best groups of soldiers in Saladin's army, fell to bickering with each other during their night march, and their protracted argument delayed their getting into position before sunrise.

The argument was over what group of troops would have to dismount some of their soldiers to

AYYUBIDS

Image source: wiki/British Museum

SALADIN

Having founded the Ayyubid dynasty by uniting the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, Saladin had brought together much of the Muslim world to oppose the crusader armies. Jaffa would prove to be the final battle of the Third Crusade and Saladin's final clash with the crusaders as he died just a few months later on 4 March 1193.

Image source: wiki/Ali Abdulqadr Razany (CC BY-SA 4.0)

BAHA AD-DIN IBN SHADDAD

A close friend and ally of Saladin, Baha ad-Din held a number of important judicial roles in the Ayyubid government as well as being a chronicler of the sultan's life. His biography of Saladin published after his death has proven to be a vital source in the centuries since and he was present at Jaffa to witness events.

CRUSADERS

Image source: wiki/Anne Francq, is Arnaud

HENRY II, COUNT OF CHAMPAGNE

Henry was the nephew of both Richard I and Philip II and arrived ready to fight in the Third Crusade ahead of them. He was part of the Siege of Acre from 1190 and rode alongside Richard at Jaffa. He had become king of Jerusalem a few months earlier by marrying Isabella I.

Image source: wiki/Wikimandia (CC BY-SA 4.0)

ROBERT DE BEAUMONT, 4TH EARL OF LEICESTER

Another of the men who rode with King Richard at Jaffa, Robert was invested with his earldom while with the crusader forces gathering their strength at Messina, Sicily in 1191 (following the death of his father). After returning to his lands in Normandy he was captured by Philip II and imprisoned for three years.

Image source: wiki/Kelson

RICHARD I OF ENGLAND

Motivated to reclaim Jerusalem after it fell to Saladin in 1187, Richard the Lionheart led the Third Crusade with Philip II of France. While they would fail to take back Jerusalem as they intended, Richard achieved notable victories against Saladin, but with unrest at home, a truce after Jaffa was agreed.

infiltrate the town of Jaffa while the main battle was underway outside the town. Neither group of proud cavalrymen wanted to fight on foot.

When the call to arms was made in the crusader camp, Richard formed his troops in a hedgehog formation in which the soldiers faced outward in all directions so that the Muslim horse-archers could not get behind them or outflank them.

He ordered his spearmen to plant their spears at an angle in the sandy soil and stay low behind their shields to protect themselves from the thick flights of Muslim arrows. He then ordered his crossbowmen to work in pairs at intervals behind the spearmen. One would draw their crossbow while the other loosed their arrow.

Richard ordered his approximately 50 dismounted knights to fight on the front lines. Meanwhile, Richard and his ten mounted knights positioned themselves inside the hedgehog formation, where they served as a reactionary force.

Although Saladin had a large army that heavily outnumbered Richard's army, only a fraction saw action that day. Most of Saladin's troops were horse-archers and the few hundred Mamluk and Kurdish troops, the former of whom were Saladin's bodyguards, were typically held in reserve until victory was certain.

Two factors worked against Saladin. First, the horse-archers disliked having to fight massed crusader infantry –their horses would not charge into a wall of spears. Second, the horse-archers' light arrows were no match for the crusaders' heavier crossbow bolts in a close-range contest.

After they rode throughout the morning along the outside of the crusader formation, loosing arrows as they went by, the Muslim horse-archers began tiring and their losses piled up from crossbow hits. Richard then ordered his spearmen to stab the enemy horses and riders when they came within striking distance of the front rank.

When the Muslim attack began to slow, Richard sallied forth on horseback with his fellow lords, including Henry of Champagne and Earl Robert of Leicester, and hacked their way into the front ranks of the Muslim host.

Although their initial charge would have been made with lances, once the lances shattered the Christian lords would have resorted to their broadswords. The Anglo-Norman chronicles waxed eloquently about Richard's feats that day. After their initial charge, they pushed on, hewing and slashing at those Muslim horse-archers who did not get out of the way in time. After suffering this last humiliation, Saladin withdrew, leaving Jaffa in Richard's hands.

Although the Third Crusade did not result in the recovery of Jerusalem, it did result in the revitalisation of a viable crusader state, known as the Kingdom of Acre, which succeeded the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Having negotiated an equitable truce with Saladin in September 1192 that allowed Christian pilgrims to visit Jerusalem, Richard departed for home the following month.

5 AUGUST 1192

01 Crusader soldier sounds alert

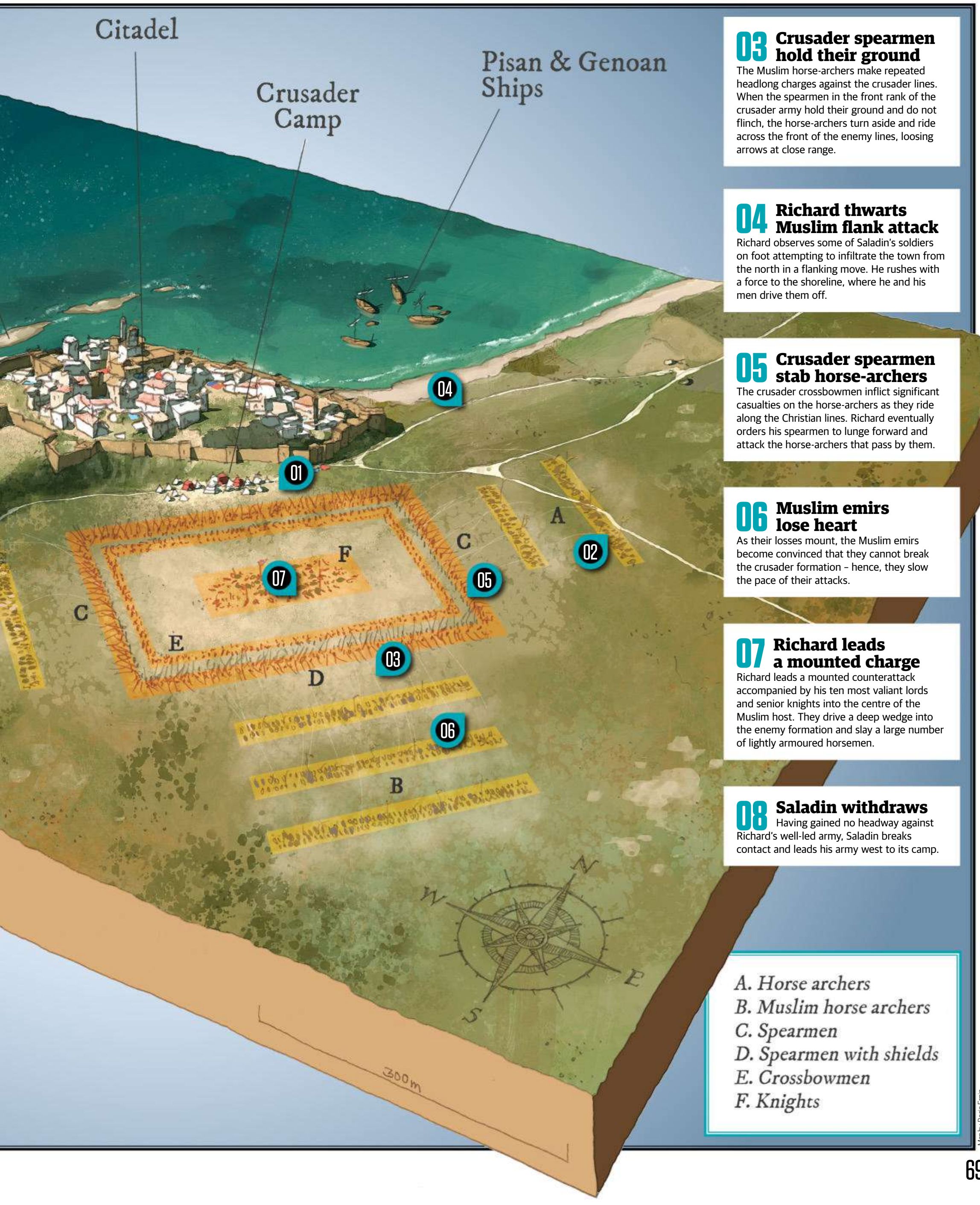
A Genoan soldier alerts the crusader camp at first light that Saladin's army is about to attack. Richard deploys his foot soldiers and dismounted knights in a hedgehog formation, with spearmen in the front rank and crossbowmen in the second rank.

02 Horse-archers loose showers of arrows

The Muslim horse-archers in the front ranks of Saladin's army advance towards the crusaders and shower them from three sides with flights of arrows in an attempt to thin their ranks, but the foot soldiers use their kite-shaped shields to protect them from the light arrows.

© Alamy

Richard and troops prepare to storm the beach at Jaffa



03 Crusader spearmen hold their ground

The Muslim horse-archers make repeated headlong charges against the crusader lines. When the spearmen in the front rank of the crusader army hold their ground and do not flinch, the horse-archers turn aside and ride across the front of the enemy lines, loosing arrows at close range.

04 Richard thwarts Muslim flank attack

Richard observes some of Saladin's soldiers on foot attempting to infiltrate the town from the north in a flanking move. He rushes with a force to the shoreline, where he and his men drive them off.

05 Crusader spearmen stab horse-archers

The crusader crossbowmen inflict significant casualties on the horse-archers as they ride along the Christian lines. Richard eventually orders his spearmen to lunge forward and attack the horse-archers that pass by them.

06 Muslim emirs lose heart

As their losses mount, the Muslim emirs become convinced that they cannot break the crusader formation – hence, they slow the pace of their attacks.

07 Richard leads a mounted charge

Richard leads a mounted counterattack accompanied by his ten most valiant lords and senior knights into the centre of the Muslim host. They drive a deep wedge into the enemy formation and slay a large number of lightly armoured horsemen.

08 Saladin withdraws

Having gained no headway against Richard's well-led army, Saladin breaks contact and leads his army west to its camp.

A. Horse archers
B. Muslim horse archers
C. Spearmen
D. Spearmen with shields
E. Crossbowmen
F. Knights

Map by: Rocio Espin

What If...

THE DUNKIRK EVACUATION HAD FAILED?

In 1940 a vast rescue operation miraculously saved the majority of Britain's army, but what would failure have meant in the war against the Nazis?

Interview by Callum McKelvie

INTERVIEW WITH

JOSHUA LEVINE

Joshua Levine practised as a barrister before becoming an actor and writer. He has written several books on the subject of the two World Wars and served as the historical consultant on the 2017 film *Dunkirk*.

©Getty Images

Between 26 May and 4 June 1940, a vast operation took place to rescue thousands of British troops from northern France. The Germans' rapid advance through the difficult and hilly terrain of the Ardennes had outflanked the British forces. Realising that a continued attack would be hopeless, the British launched Operation Dynamo, a huge endeavour to rescue as many troops as possible. The improvised evacuation, involving hundreds of navy and civilian vessels, was nothing short of a miracle. It kept Britain in the war and paved the way for the eventual defeat of Nazi Germany. Yet the success of the operation was on a knife-edge – how might the future of both Britain and WWII have looked had it failed?

What happened leading up to the evacuation of troops at Dunkirk? Why was it necessary?

The British Expeditionary Force arrived in France at the beginning of the war and the expectation was that there would be a confrontation. The Germans, it was believed, would be attacking through Belgium and, initially, the British Expeditionary Force wasn't allowed to advance into Belgium – the Belgians were remaining neutral because they didn't want to provoke the Germans. When the German attack arrived, in May 1940, it came in Belgium as expected, and the British duly moved forward to the River Dyle, where the two sides met. What was expected was a standoff with two armies facing each other across a series of trenches, much like the previous war. But the Germans were simultaneously mounting another attack further south. They did not attack along the Maginot Line, a series of heavily fortified defences built along their border with France. Instead, the Germans launched a daring attack through the Ardennes, a hilly, forested area that was not considered ideal at all for tanks. The area was barely defended and the Germans moved quickly through it. By 20 May, German tanks had reached the French coast. After little more than a week, the Germans had almost surrounded the British Expeditionary Force.

Can you explain the plan for the Dunkirk evacuation?

Basically, there was no plan! It was never anticipated that the army would need rescuing. The evacuation was improvised by Admiral Bertram Ramsay from Dover Castle, where he could literally see across to the French coast. The initial idea was to bring soldiers back from Dunkirk harbour. Ships would be sent directly into the harbour but the Luftwaffe quickly put it out of action. And this is where improvisation reached its height. If you can't lift people from the harbour, what can you do? Well, there's the 10 miles of shallow beaches stretching from France into Belgium. In theory, people could be

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RIGHT
Admiral Bertram Ramsay (left), who organised the evacuation, watches Allied aircraft over the Normandy coast in 1944

Main image sources: © Alamy, © Getty Images

THE PAST

1940

HITLER'S HALT ORDER

Just as his troops were ready to move onto the beaches at Dunkirk, Adolf Hitler gave the order for them to halt the advance and left the attack to the Luftwaffe. For years this order has generated controversy. It was suspected for a long time that it might have been given out a sense of mercy and that Hitler suspected a show of force would now push Britain into making peace. However, Hermann Goering insisted this Luftwaffe be given the honour of finishing off the British Army. Hitler relented and halted the movement of the Panzers outside Dunkirk. Partly this was due to tank losses and the worry this could leave the left flank of the advance vulnerable. This decision would give the British troops valuable time to stage the evacuation.

1912-40

FROM THE TITANIC TO DUNKIRK

One of the men who captained a 'little ship' during the evacuation of British troops at Dunkirk was Charles Lightoller, the surviving second officer of the Titanic, which had sunk in 1912. Lightoller survived the sinking when, as the ship plunged under water, he found himself trapped but was saved when a boiler explosion in the bowels of the ship released a blast of hot air that pushed him to the surface. He then stood on top of an upturned lifeboat with some other surviving passengers, constantly shifting their weight so as not to capsize the little boat, until they were rescued. Pictured here with his son, who also assisted in the evacuation, the 66-year-old Lightoller managed to rescue some 130 British soldiers from the beaches of Dunkirk in his 58ft private motor yacht, The Sundowner. Lightoller would live out the rest of his days running a small boatyard and constructing boats for the river police. In 1952 he would pass away of heart disease.

taken directly off the beaches, but the problem was that the bigger naval and transport ships couldn't get close enough – so initiative was needed. For example, the Royal Engineers used discarded lorries and drove them out into the water, where they were tethered together and a walkway built on top allowing them to be used as makeshift jetties. And a lot of smaller boats and ships were needed to lift people off the beaches, so plenty of boat owners around southern England found that their boats were suddenly whisked away. For me, the most impressive improvisation was by a man called Captain William Tennant, who was the senior naval officer ashore in Dunkirk. When he got there on 27 May he realised something had to be done to get people off in larger numbers, because significant numbers of soldiers were starting to arrive inside the Dunkirk perimeter. Captain Tennant spotted the large East Mole; this was a mile-long breakwater, it wasn't a jetty. Ships never came alongside it. But Tennant brought a huge ferry alongside and soldiers found ways to clamber on board. It worked brilliantly.

How integral were the 'little ships' to the evacuation?

There is an idea that ordinary people got in their private little motor boats and came over to Dunkirk, and to some small extent that did happen. A man called Charles Lightoller, who had been the senior surviving officer on board the Titanic, took his own little boat across. But for the most part these 'little ships' were requisitioned in a hurry by the Royal Navy and a lot of their owners thought they had been stolen. As a result, there were civil actions against the Navy for people who lost their boats that carried on for years afterwards! These little ships started arriving in large numbers on 30 May. However, it should be remembered that these ships were, for the most part, not taking people back to England but carrying them from the shore to the larger ships. Their primary role was to ferry people off the beaches.

Could the evacuation have failed?

There was every chance it could have failed. Churchill initially hoped that 30,000 soldiers would get away and in the end 338,000 made it off the beaches. There were an incredible number of things which allowed people to escape. Firstly, there was the successful defence of the roads to Dunkirk and then the defence of the perimeter around Dunkirk by both British and French troops – many of whom were sacrificing themselves for the greater good. Then there was the generally calm sea and the frequent cloud cover. These were strokes of luck, as was the infamous 'Halt Order' that stopped German tanks in their tracks for several crucial days. A little-known scientific process known as 'degaussing' kept hundreds of ships safe from German magnetic mines. You've got the efforts of the Royal Navy and the Merchant Navy, and the work of the little ships. People often forget the work being done by the Royal Air Force. All of these things came together. They're all immensely important and without one or more of them it could all have been different.

If Dunkirk had failed what could the effect on the war have been?

Britain would have almost certainly been forced to seek terms with Germany. Lord Halifax was keen to pursue some kind of negotiation. If Britain had made peace, it would have become – as Churchill said at the time – a slave state. It would

BELOW
Stranded troops on the beaches at Dunkirk during the evacuation in 1940

© Getty Images

have meant that the war as we know it wouldn't have taken place. Without Britain to preserve freedom and the rule of law then the norms of Nazi Germany would simply have bled right across Europe. Would America still have entered the war? Where would the second front have come from without Britain as a base to get back into Europe? Would Europe have ever been liberated? In America there's a tendency to think of Dunkirk as a sort of parochial little British story that took place before the Americans and the Russians got involved and the real war started. And that's not right. The influence of Dunkirk on the world in which we live is beyond imagination.

What could the failure of the evacuation have meant to Britain?

The evacuation gave rise to an idea known as 'Dunkirk Spirit' which is still bandied about constantly. But in the summer of 1940 it was real and it was organic. The soldiers came home and most were embarrassed. They thought of themselves as the remnants of a battered army, so they were amazed to be treated as heroes by civilians. People were buying them drinks in pubs and slapping them on the back. Families were happy that their sons, brothers and husbands had come home but also they were just relieved that Britain hadn't lost the war. That relief gave rise to a spontaneous release of emotion. Mass Observation reports from the time said that this sudden release of feeling after Dunkirk would rouse the nation. In the immediate aftermath of the evacuation, politicians in the Cabinet started talking about war aims and what they wanted Britain to be like after the war. *The Times* published an editorial saying British life should no longer be based on privilege but on democracy and freedom. Factory output increased massively. I believe Dunkirk was a turning point that led to the post-war social national overhaul. This is what eventually led to the NHS, free education, to all these measures which grew out of the war. The post-war consensus of making life better for people was kickstarted by Dunkirk and had this not happened, I think it's very possible that these post-war measures would not have come about.

TOP
Evacuated troops arrive at Addison Road station and enjoy refreshments

ABOVE
Troops wade into the water to board rescue ships

THE POSSIBILITY

1940

PEACE WITH GERMANY?

Had the Dunkirk evacuation failed and almost the entirety of the British Expeditionary Force had been captured in France, then it is more than likely that Britain would have been forced to sue for peace with Nazi Germany. Some in the British Government, such as Lord Halifax, had seen this as a viable option and it was during the May 1940 Cabinet Crisis that he pushed for this. Following the crisis, Halifax found himself in America as Churchill's ambassador. If Operation Dynamo had failed, would this plan have become a reality?

1945

NO SOCIAL REFORMS?

Following the end of the war, it was not Winston Churchill whom the British public chose to lead them but Labour's Clement Attlee, whose programme of social reforms remains influential to this day. The National Insurance Act (1946) introduced social security, and nationalisation Acts of coal (1946), electricity and transport (1947) nationalised key parts of British industry. The Children's Act of 1948 introduced a comprehensive child care system for orphaned and poor children. Arguably the most progressive British government ever, Attlee's five-year term is one whose positive effects we are still feeling today. As Joshua Levine describes, without Dunkirk these reforms may have never have occurred.

1948

NO NHS?

Perhaps the most important of Attlee's reforms was the creation of the National Health Service (NHS), which came into being in 1948. Some of the origins of the NHS originate directly following the Dunkirk evacuation, with William Beveridge's 1942 report that outlined societal problems to be faced following the end of the war. Attlee's Health Minister, Aneurin Bevan, expressed the desire that the new health system should be based on three major principles. Firstly that it be for everyone, secondly that it be free, and finally that it would be based on need and not ability to pay.

7x © Alamy

Through History

A CHRISTMAS GIFT FOR THE TRENCHES

For Christmas of 1914, a vast effort was made to supply every British serviceman with a unique gift, initiated by the 17-year-old Princess Mary

By December 1914 World War I had been raging for five months. The widely held belief that the conflict would be over by Christmas had proven to be wrong and it was clear that the soldiers would be stuck in the trenches. Princess Mary, daughter of King George V and Queen Mary, soon hatched a plan to provide a Christmas gift to all servicemen, similar to Queen Victoria's during the Boer War (pictured above), launching a fund that raised £162,591 – about £17 million in today's money.

Committees were appointed to organise the contents of the gift tins and liaise with the relevant companies. Initially intended just for servicemen overseas, they were eventually also given to those at home, and the next of kin of casualties and prisoners of war. The gift is primarily remembered for its distinctive brass box, which was embossed with a relief of Princess Mary. In total some 2.5 million tins were distributed.

Remarkably, the full story of this amazing achievement has never been told. Now, renowned historian of World War I, Peter Doyle, recounts the complete tale in a lavish book *'For Every Sailor Afloat, Every Soldier At The Front'*, which is full of superb full-colour illustrations.

Main image: © Peter Doyle

CIGARETTES FOR CHRISTMAS

The initial gift contained a brass box, tobacco, cigarettes and cigarette card, Christmas card, tinder lighter, pipe, and a photo of Mary herself. All these gifts were supplied by a variety of different companies, each contributing a specially made item.

© Peter Doyle

LIEBESGABEN

British soldiers were not alone in receiving gifts at Christmas, 1914. 'Liebesgaben', meaning 'love gifts', were common in German military campaigns since at least 1870. These were items gathered through charitable endeavours, and a huge effort was made to gift them to the German troops on the frontline in 1914.

© Peter Doyle

WRITING IN WAR TIME

For those soldiers who didn't smoke tobacco, an appropriate alternative was arranged. They received a handsome khaki writing case filled with stationery, as well as the same brass tin – but containing acid drop sweets instead of tobacco.

© Taff Gillingham/Great War Huts Collection

TOMMY TINS

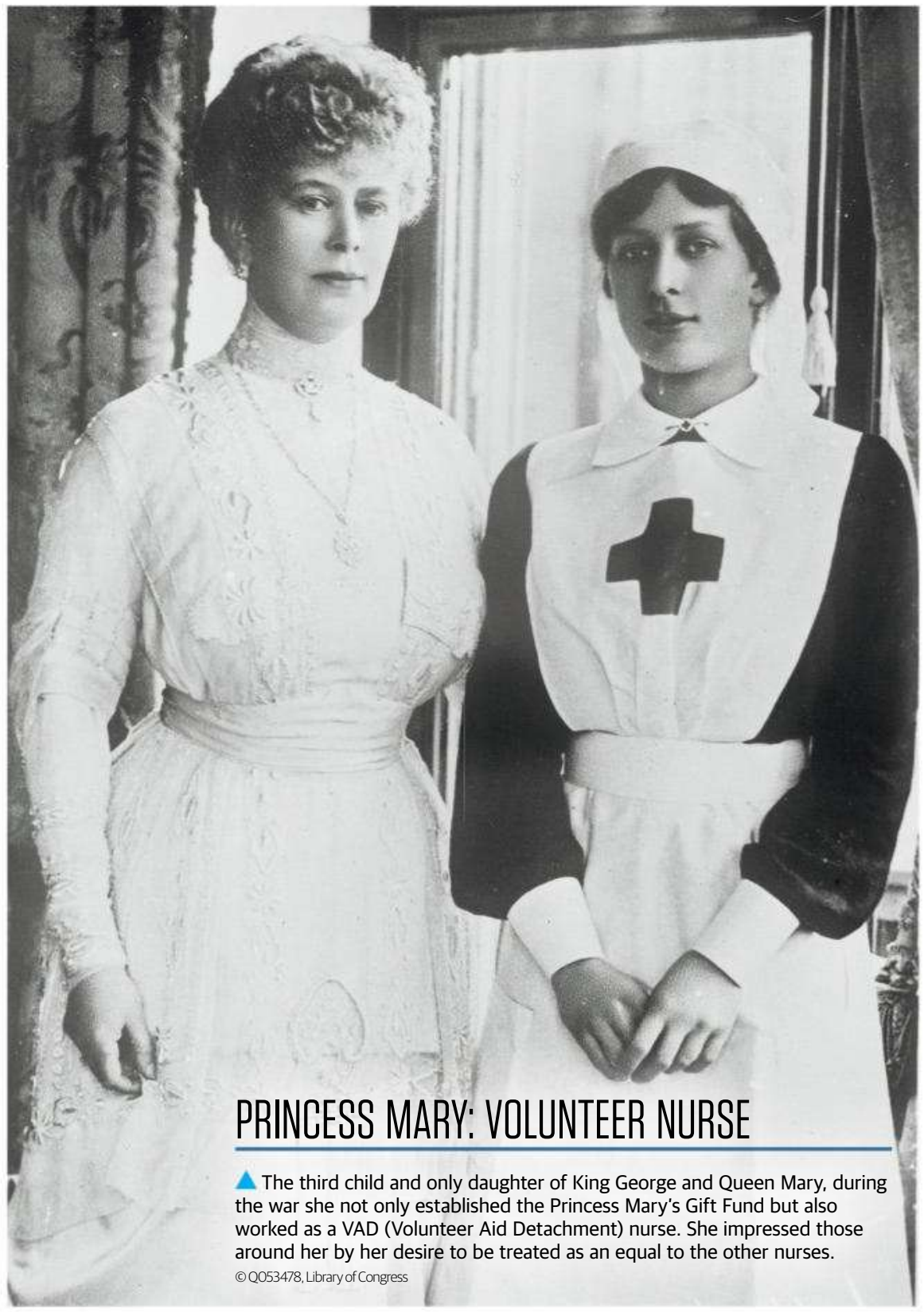
In 2014, to mark the centenary of the Great War, Fortnum & Mason created these 'Tommy Tins' which were sent to servicemen on active duty. They contained two bars of Fortnum & Mason chocolate and a pack of playing cards. The design mimicked that of Princess Mary's gift.

© Peter Doyle

OTHER CHRISTMAS GIFTS

In the subsequent years of the war, although Princess Mary's gift would not be repeated, other similar gifts were produced. This one made by Rowntree's could be obtained by collecting tokens and contained a "large cake of Elect chocolate".

© Peter Doyle



PRINCESS MARY: VOLUNTEER NURSE

The third child and only daughter of King George and Queen Mary, during the war she not only established the Princess Mary's Gift Fund but also worked as a VAD (Volunteer Aid Detachment) nurse. She impressed those around her by her desire to be treated as an equal to the other nurses.

© Q053478, Library of Congress

TROUBLESOME TINDER LIGHTERS

A soldier in France examines his gift, but missing is the tinder lighter. Asprey, the company designated to provide them, was unable to produce the requisite number as the cerium on which the lighters were dependent came from Austria. As a result, alternatives were provided, such as pen knives and bullet pencils.

© Peter Doyle

LIFE-SAVING TINS

This damaged tin is from King George V's own collection of war relics and mementos. It's possible that it's a 'life-saving tin'. Mary received letters from soldiers describing them as well as examples of tins that had stopped bullets.

© Peter Doyle

'For Every Sailor Afloat, Every Soldier at the Front' by Peter Doyle is out now from Unicorn Publishing, priced £20

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

THE LAST DUEL

A riveting medieval 'Me Too' story

Certificate: 18 **Director:** Ridley Scott **Cast:** Matt Damon, Adam Driver, Jodie Comer **Released:** Out now

On 29 December 1386, in a frosty field on the outskirts of northern Paris, the last legally sanctioned trial by combat took place in France, between knights Jean de Carrouges (Matt Damon) and Jacques Le Gris (Adam Driver). Ridley Scott's latest historical saga *The Last Duel* explores the sordid backstory leading up to this legendary and much written about encounter, drawing parallels between the past and present regarding the treatment of women in society.

Scott's history-based epics, like all his pictures, regardless of genre, are grounded in realistic attention to detail and sumptuous imagery that's matched to intelligent storytelling. The renowned filmmaker is a world-builder who brings the past to life like few other mainstream directors; he loves to transport the audience to another time and place, with medieval France depicted here as cold, brutal, muddy and often bloody.

The Last Duel, set over the course of many years, is told in flashback and from a trio of perspectives, each chapter titled *'The Truth According to...'* The clever screenplay by Nicole Holofcener, Matt Damon and Ben Affleck (who appears in a scene-stealing role as Count Pierre d'Alençon) is unusually structured – certainly for a Hollywood blockbuster. However, its 'He Said, He Said' plot brilliantly underlines the salient themes of the film and allows the tale to build to a harrowing conclusion. The narrative gamble pays off.

When her husband goes away on business, with everybody out of the house, sexual predator Le Gris, an erudite and exceedingly crafty man, smitten by Lady Marguerite de Carrouges (Jodie Comer), turns up at the door unannounced, refuses to take no for an answer and commits a despicable act. Carrouges demands justice for the crime against his wife, but what he really wants is retribution against Le Gris, as he's partly inspired by his vanity and his believing (sometimes correctly) that his fellow noblemen are cheating him. Lady Marguerite is just another piece of property that others want to take away or ruin for him, it's one more public humiliation to overcome.

If the story is ugly and frequently, unexpectedly, hard-hitting, it also has a tension-relieving vein of black humour that offers a satirical depiction of mediocre men, with their insecurities and chest-puffing behaviour openly mocked. Add to this: exquisite costumes, vivid period sets and exterior locations, brooding visuals, excellent performances, fantastic battles and the nail-biting duel itself.

Matt Damon as meathead Carrouges has rarely been this good and Adam Driver plays an irredeemable bastard whose comeuppance you'll savour, but it's Jodie Comer's Lady Marguerite, an initially voiceless woman caught in the middle of a bitter and foolish feud between two horrible men, threatened with execution herself, who emerges from background figure to vital presence. When she gets to tell her story, we get a much clearer and truer picture of events, who these men are, what makes them tick, why they're so awful, and why her ordeal is universal. ***MC***

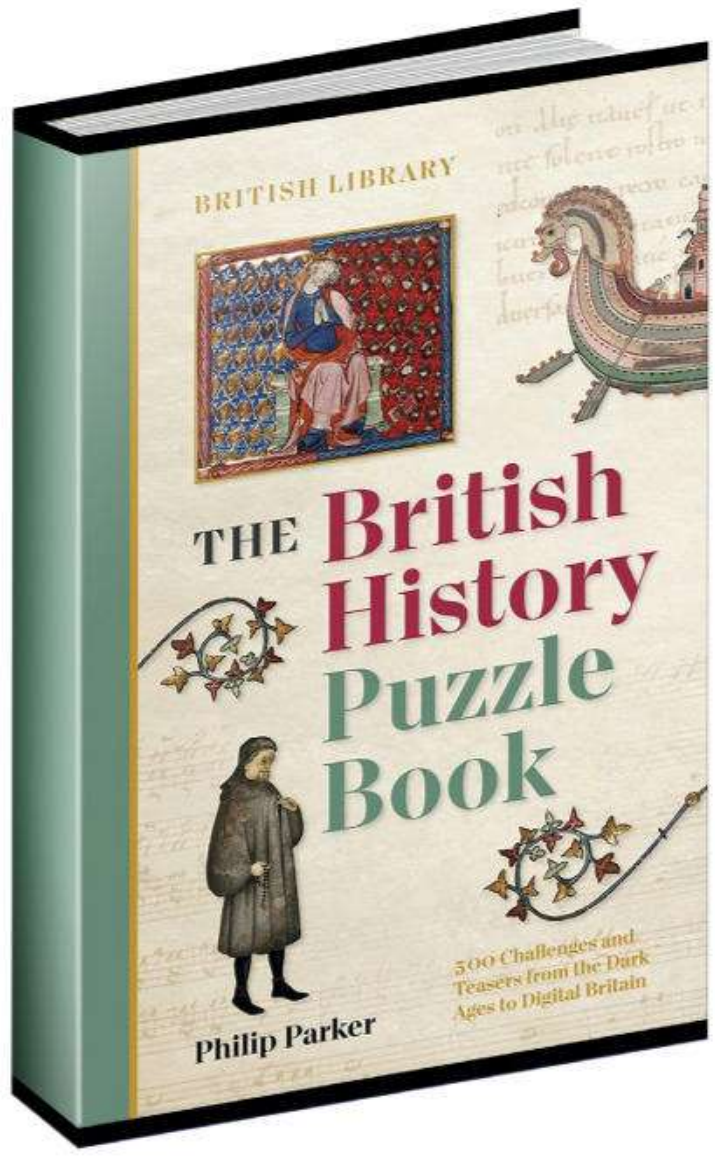
★★★☆☆

Reviews by
Martyn Conterio, Beth Wyatt, Catherine Curzon

THE BRITISH HISTORY PUZZLE BOOK

An entertaining book packed with cultural facts

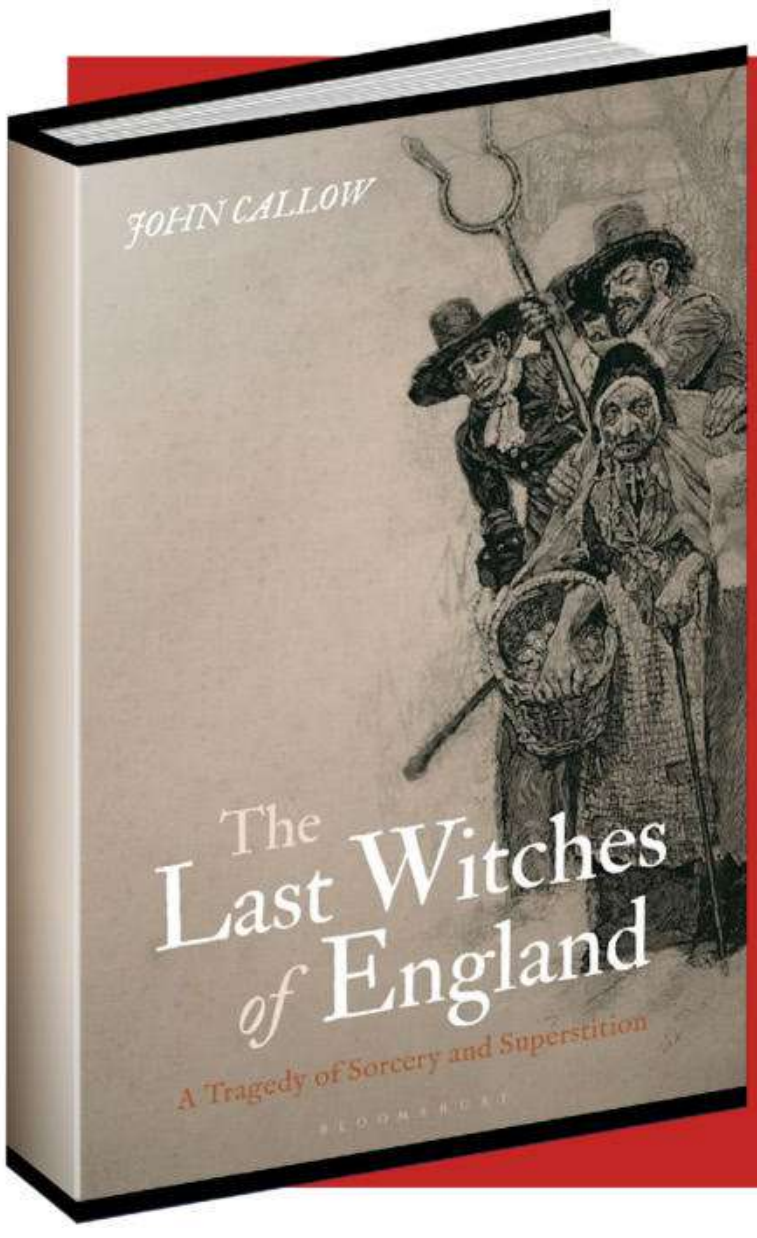
Author: Philip Parker **Publisher** British Library Publishing
Price £14.99 **Released** 1 April 2022


BRITISH LIBRARY
THE British History Puzzle Book
500 Challenges and Teasers from the Dark Ages to Digital Britain
Philip Parker

A jaunt through thousands of years of British culture awaits readers of this new title by the British Library. *The British History Puzzle Book* challenges enthusiasts to put their knowledge to the test across 42 rounds encompassing social, cultural and political approaches to the country's past. Themes include royalty, battles, theatre, architecture, empire, sport, medicine and industry. What was the bloodiest battle fought on British soil? Which dynasty in English history has had the highest proportion of female monarchs? Who is the only musician to have been given a state funeral at Westminster Abbey? The book eschews an Anglocentric focus by including additional rounds quizzing readers on their knowledge of Scottish, Welsh and Irish histories, and it covers periods including prehistoric, Roman, medieval, Tudor, Stuart, Victorian and modern Britain.

The book also includes spectacular imagery, with each round accompanied by photographs and illustrations from the British Library's archive. Striking medieval manuscript pages and maps feature alongside architecture prints, artwork from literature including *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, and modern posters and photographs. *The British History Puzzle Book* is an enjoyable read that will keep history enthusiasts well entertained, and perhaps prompt some lively debate over the Christmas dinner table. ***BW***

★★★★☆



THE LAST WITCHES OF ENGLAND

Three women are forsaken by their community

Author John Callow **Publisher** Bloomsbury Academic
Price £25 **Released** Out now

On an August day in 1682, three women condemned as witches were led to the scaffold in Exeter. Temperance Lloyd, Susanna Edwards and Mary Trembles lived on the margins and died in disgrace, convicted of the most deplorable acts by the social class on which they had relied for charity. These women in their 60s or 70s – immortalised as the 'Bideford Witches' after the prosperous town they lived in – were the last people known to have been executed for witchcraft in England. Their tragedy is presented with erudition and compassion by John Callow, who has built on generations of scholarship and studied important primary material including parish papers, charity records and court proceedings to document the lives (and afterlives) of Lloyd, Edwards and Trembles. As, respectively, an abandoned wife, a widow and a single woman, all living in poverty, they had few avenues of support open to them when they became the subjects of community suspicion and fear.

Callow, rightly, makes no attempt to provide a simple explanation as to why these women were targeted, instead weighing up potential factors including a decline in the middle classes' sense of duty to the poor, a power vacuum in local governance, and the idea of a minority group turning on another. *The Last Witches of England* is an important work of social history that presents valuable insights into the workings of life, death, and belief in a cosmopolitan 17th-century town. ***BW***

★★★★★

History of The Slave Trade

Between 1500 and 1900 it's estimated that around 12 million African men, women and children were stolen from their homes by Europeans, before being forcefully transported across the Atlantic. In this special, we seek to tell that story – from its origins to its abolition. We also look to explore the legacies of slavery and how the effects are still being felt in the modern world.

Buy the *History of The Slave Trade* in shops or online at **magazinesdirect.com**
Price: £12.99

HISTORY of WAR **RECOMMENDS...**

The Crimes Of The Gestapo

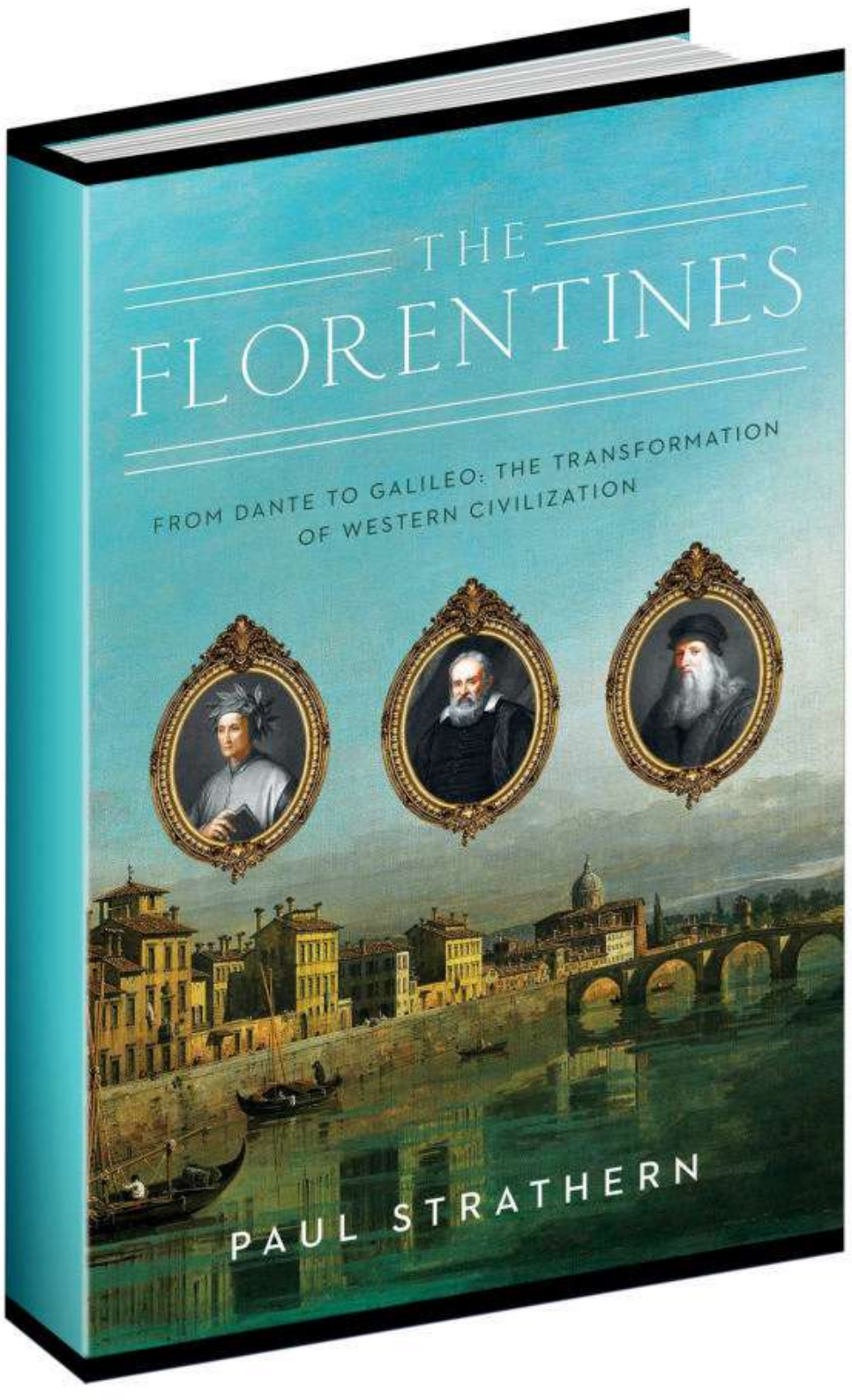
Author Andrew Cook **Price** £20 **Publisher** Amberley

Andrew Cook brings to light the inner workings of the Gestapo he unearthed from the closed files of MI14, the wartime intelligence department created on Churchill's orders shortly after his appointment as prime minister. As Cook points out in this meticulously researched book, most people are probably as unaware of MI14 and the critical intelligence role it played in the war as they are universally aware of the name and sinister reputation of the Gestapo.

THE FLORENTINES: FROM DANTE TO GALILEO

The sweeping story of a changing city

Author Paul Strathern **Publisher** Pegasus Books **Price** £20 **Released** Out Now



"A page-turner that presents a fascinating new perspective on the stories and people of Florence"

In his new book *The Florentines: From Dante to Galileo*, novelist Paul Strathern tells a true story that has as many twists and turns as any work of fiction. It is an epic journey through four centuries of Florentine history, and one that tells the story not only of the city, but of the people who lived there. In doing so, Strathern brings to life the events that led to the birth of the Renaissance.

Beginning with the birth of Dante in 1265 and ending with the death of Galileo nearly 400 years later, Strathern presents the history of a city that changed Western culture forever. In Florence, he posits, science, art and architecture underwent such a ground-breaking change and such an important series of discoveries, that its impact is still felt today. It was a city where great minds came together in pursuit of discovery, and one driven by a concept that came to be known as humanism, rather than a spirituality that found its roots in the heavens.

In Strathern's capable hands, what could be an unwieldy narrative is eminently readable. He brings both the city and its inhabitants vividly to life, and in doing so makes a persuasive case for Florence's unique role in the Renaissance. It was a city in which some of the greatest minds of the era were born, and characters including Machiavelli and Leonardo da Vinci will be familiar to readers with even just a passing interest in history. Yet Strathern recognises that Florence was not in a vacuum, and he contextualises the events there within the wider world, focussing on how its geographic position made it a hub to which travellers from across the globe flocked. In this melting pot, it was inevitable that new and innovative ideas would flourish in every field from art to technology to business and beyond.

Strathern's previous experience as both a historian and a novelist is evident in this well-written and exhaustively researched book. Despite the enormous sweep of the text and the large cast of characters Strathern never loses focus or lets the pace flag. It is a page-turner, and one that presents a fascinating new perspective on the stories and people of Florence.

The Florentines: From Dante to Galileo is a book that will appeal to a wide range of readers. Those who are already an expert on the subject will likely find some of the material familiar, but they will also find Strathern's perspective on the city intriguing. For those who are casually interested or simply curious to know more, the book will no doubt be as eye-opening as it is impressive.

The text is illustrated throughout, and Strathern has provided a wealth of additional information to guide readers through the narrative. From family trees to further reading, Strathern's extensive research is evident on every page. His analysis of Florence's importance in the wider world is persuasive and fascinating, and *The Florentines: From Dante to Galileo*, is a book that more than does it justice. ***CC***

★★★★☆

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

JUDAS AND THE BLACK MESSIAH

Director: Shaka King **Starring:** Daniel Kaluuya, LaKeith Stanfield, Jesse Plemons **Country:** USA **Released:** 2021

A story of betrayal and racism in the highest offices of America

VERDICT: Largely sticks to the already highly dramatic real events

01 William O'Neal (Stanfield) pretends to be an FBI agent to steal a car. The FBI offers him an informer role to escape prosecution. This differs from O'Neal's account, but is similar to one in the *Chicago Tribune* where the fake ID was used with the police to escape.

02 Fred Hampton (Kaluuya), a star of the civil rights movement and chairman of the Illinois Black Panther Party, is the target the FBI wants O'Neal to get close to. While details have been simplified, he did create a Rainbow Coalition with other activist groups.

03 The shootout at the Panther HQ is an amalgam of two incidents. The detail of someone being spotted on the roof (in the film, this is O'Neal) is from a later event. A shootout on 1 August 1969 matches the film more closely but took place at night, not in the day.

04 O'Neal wears a wire and offers Hampton C-4 to use in a terrorist attack. This appears to be fictional, but O'Neal did offer explosives to another Panther and encouraged him to use them for a burglary. It's unclear if a wire was involved in this incident.

05 Hampton is killed by police in a raid on his flat. O'Neal spikes his drink so he is asleep. The true details of the raid are unclear, but O'Neal did draw a plan of the flat for the FBI, who passed it on to the police, and an autopsy confirmed barbiturates in Hampton's system.

Main image: © Alamy
5x inset image source: Sky/Warner Bros. Pictures

Did you know?

The name 'laghman' may derive from the Chinese word 'lāmiàn', which means hand-pulled noodles

LAGHMAN

A HEARTY NOODLE SOUP, CENTRAL ASIA, UNKNOWN – PRESENT

Laghman is considered the national dish of the Uyghur and Dungan ethnic groups. It was developed thanks to the cultural exchange that occurred on the Silk Road and includes a variety of ingredients that would have been traded. We do not know when it was first created, but it originated from the Xinjian region in Northwest China. According to one legend, laghman was first prepared by three travelling merchants who met at a crossroads. They had cooking equipment and ingredients between them, so they teamed up to create laghman. This dish is popular in Central Asia, China and Russia, and there are numerous variations. Hand-pulled noodles are a signature of this dish, but you can substitute these with udon or egg noodles if you wish.

Ingredients

For the noodles:

- 250g plain flour
- 110ml cold water
- 1 egg, beaten
- Olive oil
- Pinch of salt

For the soup:

- 500ml water or beef stock
- 200g lamb or beef, chopped into pieces
- 3 small potatoes, cubed
- 3 cloves of garlic, finely chopped
- 2 bell peppers, sliced
- 2 tomatoes, chopped
- 2 tbsp tomato paste
- 1 medium onion, chopped
- 1 tsp ground cumin
- Olive oil
- Salt and pepper

Main image: © Alamy
Inset image: © Alamy

METHOD

01 If you're making your own noodles, begin by making the dough. In a mixing bowl, combine the flour, eggs and salt. Gently add in the water a little bit at a time and mix until a dough forms. Knead the dough for ten minutes until it is smooth.

02 Wrap the dough in cling film and rest at room temperature for 15 to 20 minutes. Divide the dough into three pieces and roll each piece into thick strands. Coat each one with oil and rest for around 10 to 15 minutes.

03 Take one dough strand and evenly roll it between the table and the palm of your hand, stretching it so that it becomes a long 'rope'. Repeat this process for the remaining strands.

04 Lightly oil a plate and coil the first strand of dough into a circle and continue with the remaining pieces until you have one long, continuous coil. Cover with cling film and leave to rest while you cook the soup.

05 Heat up some oil in a frying pan or wok and cook your lamb or beef for 5 to 7 minutes, until browned. Next, add in the onion, garlic, cumin and tomato paste and cook until the onion is soft.

06 Add in the tomatoes, peppers and potatoes and cook them together for around 4 to 5 minutes. Pour in the water or beef stock and then reduce to a simmer for 20 to 25 minutes, until the potatoes are nice and tender.

07 Bring a large pot of salted water to a boil. Take the strands of dough from the plate and stretch each one using your hands until they are thin like shoelaces. Repeatedly loop one piece of stretched dough around your hands.

08 Gently hit the middle of this loop against the table a few times, widening the gap between your hands as you do so to stretch the noodles and make them longer. Be warned – this is a tricky technique to get the hang of, so practice (and a little patience) makes perfect! Repeat this process with the remaining dough pieces.

09 Cook your homemade (or pre-made) noodles for 3 to 5 minutes. Drain and divide the noodles into your serving bowls. Ladle the soup, meat and vegetables over the noodles and serve your piping hot laghman immediately.

NEXT MONTH THE REAL HISTORY OF GLADIATORS ON SALE 30 DEC

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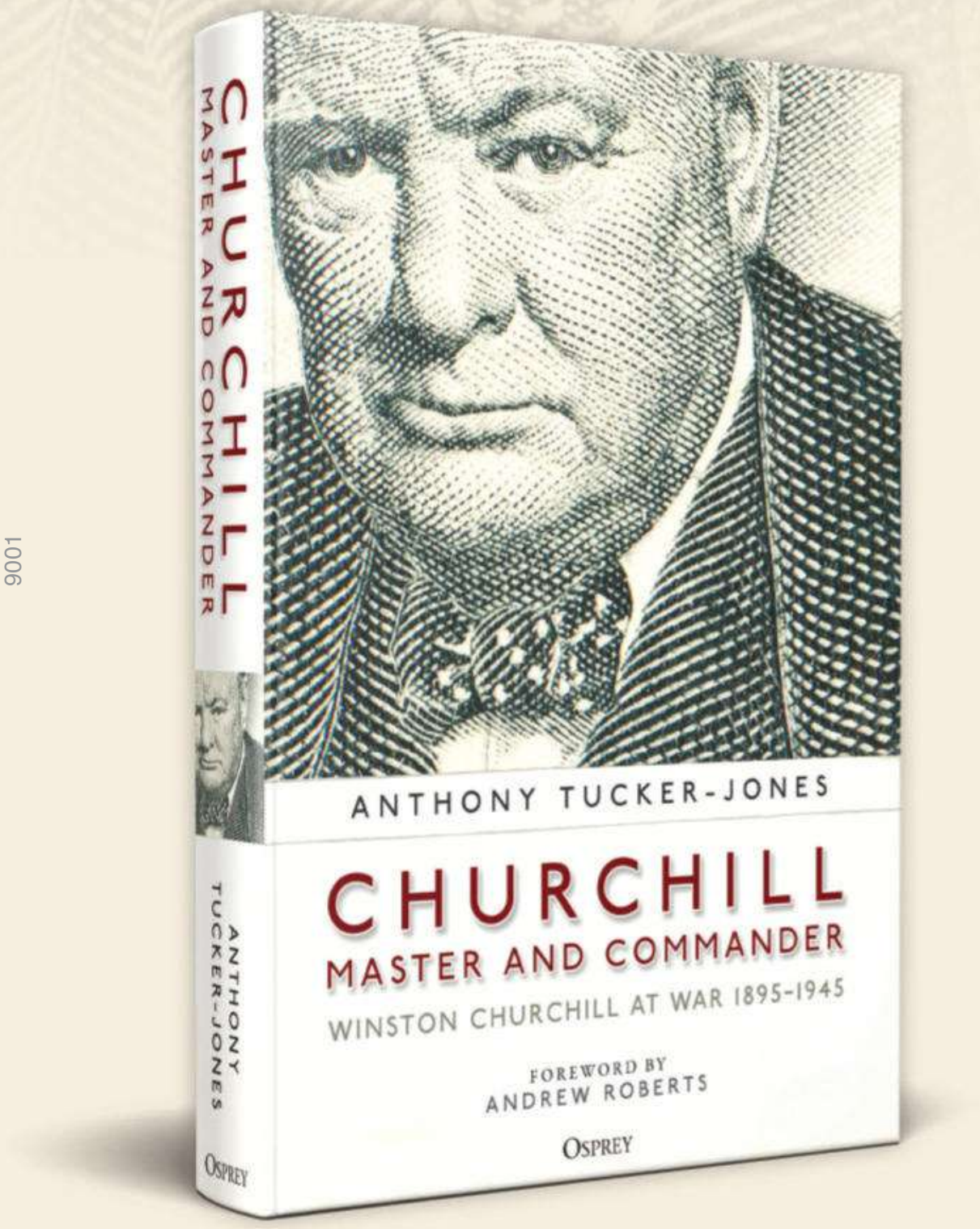
'This well-researched, well-written and soundly argued book is a real addition to the avalanche of books on Winston Churchill, illuminating where the military views came from that were so profoundly to affect the twentieth century and beyond.'

ANDREW ROBERTS, AUTHOR OF
CHURCHILL: WALKING WITH DESTINY

CHURCHILL
MASTER AND COMMANDER
WINSTON CHURCHILL AT WAR 1895–1945



ANTHONY
TUCKER-JONES

In *Churchill, Master and Commander,* Anthony Tucker-Jones explores the extensive military and political career of the UK's most renowned and respected wartime leader, and examines how his formative military experiences influenced his strategic leadership at the highest level.

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